EXAMINATOR's

LETTERS.

(PRICE ONE BRITISH SHILLING.)

1786

BRITISH MUSEUM

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EXAMINATOR's

LETTERS,

OR, A

MIRROR

POR

BRITISH MONOPOLISTS

AND

IRISH FINANCIERS.

Ill fares the land, to haſt'ning ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay;
Princes and Lords may flouriſh, or may fade;
A breath can make them, as a breath has made:
But a bold peaſantry, their country's pride,
When once deſtroy'd, can never be ſupply'd.

GOLDSMITH's Deſerted Village.

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M,DCC,LXXXVI.

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THE Writer of theſe Letters, conſcious of his inability to do juſtice to a Subject of ſuch Magnitude to Ireland, hopes the indulgent Public will conſider theſe Sketches in ſo confined a Repreſentation, as only deſigned to call forth the Pens, and awaken the Attention of Gentlemen whoſe more extenſive Correſpondencies and Abilities, may place the Intereſts of this Country in ſtronger Points of View; they are collected in obedience to the Wiſhes of many of the moſt reſpectable Characters in both Kingdoms, and if at any Time there appears an extraordinary warmth of Expreſſion made Uſe of, it is humbly hoped the Subject in which Ireland has ſo much at Stake, will plead the Author's Excuſe.

EXAMINATOR.

January, 1786.

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EXAMINATOR's

LETTERS.

LETTER I.

THE want of information ſeems to have led the manufacturers of Britain, and through them Lord Sheffield, in his publications, into numerous errors and miſrepreſentations. It appears in reports * made to the Linen Board, that a variety of cotton manufactures, ſuch as dimities from 20d. to 2s. 4d. per yard, and cottons for gowns and furniture, had been introduced into the factory of Thomas Adderly, Eſq; at Inniſhannon, and alſo that Mr. Corry and Meſſrs. Newſom and Co. of Cork, carried on conſiderable cotton manufactures, which had been introduced into the county of Cork by the French priſoners confined in that part of the county in the war that preceded the year 1750, a thorough knowledge of which had been acquired by the Iriſh weavers.—Thoſe manufactures of dimities and figured goods were not introduced from Britain but from France, and had they been protected and encouraged, it is probable would have become very conſiderable before this time; but the impolitic ſyſtem which has, during this century, pervaded the Britiſh councils until the year 1778, by laying every poſſible reſtriction on all the manufactures of Ireland, except plain linen, brown or white, has been the means of giving the Levant trade in woollens, and in all its variety to the French, and has enabled the French, Dutch and Germans to divide the African trade with England, and to ſupply Spain, Por-

* See Stephenſon's Reports in 1753 and 1760.

tugal

tugal and their colonies with various manufactures, that have enriched the natural enemies of the Britiſh empire at the expence of Ireland. The manufacturers of Britain, in their petitions, ſo far as they relate to Ireland, conſider themſelves as poſſeſſed of a monopoly of the woollen and cotton, ſail-cloth, check, and every manufacture whatever; they ſeem to wiſh that the French ſhould participate in the woollen and cotton, the Ruſſians, Germans, Swiſs and Dutch in the ſail-cloth, checks, linens, and hardware, rather than the Iriſh ſhould poſſeſs any ſhare in thoſe various branches of manufacture, that her abundance of Iriſh material ſupply for the employment of her wretched inhabitants.

Britain has latterly loſt half the check manufacture, which is transferred to Germany, Switzerland and France, rather than let the Iriſh participate in the manufacture which they allow is ſeven parts in eight made of Iriſh linen yarn, and they ſubſtitute various branches of India manufactures in their outfits for Africa that might be ſupplied from Ireland; this branch alone might ſoon be introduced into Ireland to the amount of 200 000l. yearly.

By the unreaſonable bounty of 12 per cent. on the value of Britiſh ſail-cloth exported to Ireland, that valuable and extenſive branch of manufacture has been deſtroyed in this country, and has been delivered over to the Ruſſians, Germans, Dutch and French for the ſupply of Spain, Portugal and all the powers bordering on the Mediterranean and Levant ſeas, alſo for Africa and all the eaſtern and weſtern world—this is the fruits of Britiſh monopoly. It is now to be hoped we have arrived at a more enlightened ſtage, when liberality and ſound policy ſhall unite Britain and Ireland cordially to ſupport and extend each others Intereſts and manufactures, in preference to all other nations.

LETTER II.

IN my laſt letter, the imprudent conduct of Britain is only glanced at, whereby their reſtraints on our ſail-cloth, cotton, chequers, and woollen manufactures have been either totally ruined or depreſſed in Ireland for near a century; had Britain the ſole poſſeſſion of thoſe manufactures ſhe has aimed at in her depreſſion of them in Ireland, the Britiſh empire would at this day have leſs reaſon to lament the bad policy that has ſo long prevailed, to the deſtruction of Ireland without benefiting Britain.

It is an unpleaſing taſk to call into the remembrance of Ireland the ungracious conduct of the Britiſh Parliament to this country, after

after having pledged themſelves in the moſt ſolemn terms that language could admit of, to ſupport us in the linen and hempen manufactures on our relinquiſhing the woollen manufactures (frize excepted) to them; and as a new compact is now in agitation, it is neceſſary to apprize the friends of Ireland to be more circumſpect and explicit in this treaty than they were in the former, and alſo to repreſent to Lord Sheffield and thoſe complaining monopoliſts of Britain, the injuſtice that has been done to Ireland, and with what diffidence the Iriſh ought hereafter to treat with them on terms of reciprocity.

The terms of the compact between England and Ireland in 1698, although very unfavourable to Ireland at that day, might have become advantageous to both kingdoms, had England or the Britiſh Parliament maintained that conſiſtency and dignity in ſupport of the compact that Ireland had a juſt right to expect; but they excluded Ireland from the export of frize in the firſt inſtance, and had ſcarcely entered into the compact before they ſought by all ways and means to evade the force of it, as will fully appear by examining their ſeveral acts.

The propoſition in 1698 came from England, with a poſitive promiſe on the part of the King, Lords and Commons of England to give all poſſible encouragement to the linen and hempen manufactures in Ireland, without any reſtriction or limitation whatſoever, on Ireland relinquiſhing the woollen manufacture, (frize excepted) and adopting the linen manufacture, which they were taught to believe the country was well fitted for, by the eſſays publiſhed previous thereto, by Sir William Temple and others, under the auſpices of the Engliſh councils.

The 9th of June 1698, the Lords in their addreſs to King William, promiſe the Iriſh if they turn their induſtry and ſkill to the ſettling and improving the linen manufacture, ſo as to divert the inhabitants from the purſuit of the woollen, "they ſhall re-"ceive all countenance, favour, and protection from the Royal "influence, for the encouragement and promoting of the ſaid "linen manufacture, to all the advantage and profit that king-"dom can be capable of." This was the language of the Lords of England to King William, to induce the Iriſh to relinquiſh the woollen manufacture to them (frize excepted.)

The 30th of June, 1698, the Commons of England addreſſed the King on the ſame ſubject, and entered into the following engagement, viz.

"We do moſt humbly implore your Majeſty's protection and "favour, that you will make it your Royal care, and enjoin all "thoſe you employ in IRELAND, to make it their care, and "uſe their utmoſt diligence, to hinder the exportation of wool "from Ireland, except to be imported hither, and for the diſ-"couraging the woollen manufactures, and encouraging the linen

" manufactures in IRELAND: To which we ſhall always be " ready to give our utmoſt aſſiſtance." To which KING WILLIAM returned the following anſwer:—" I ſhall do all " that in me lies to diſcourage the woollen manufacture in Ire- " land, and to encourage the linen manufacture there; and to " promote the trade of England."

Theſe were the ſpecious promiſes held out to the believing Iriſh at that day, which Lord Sheffield, and the Chamber of Britiſh Manufacturers wiſh to throw a veil over; but it is neceſſary to awaken the attention of the Iriſh to the preſent depending commercial treaty, ſo as to guard the intereſts of the kingdom from future infringements, as it will appear clearly by the ſubſequent conduct of the BRITISH PARLIAMENT towards Ireland, that thoſe ſolemn promiſes were no longer binding with them when they found it their intereſt to reſume any branch of the linen or hempen manufactures that ſuited their purpoſe, and exclude Ireland from any participation in it; this is a ſevere charge, but I deſire Lord Sheffield, and the Chamber of Britiſh Manufacturers may attend to the proofs, and controvert them if they can.

By the original propoſition in 1698, the export of frize was ſtill reſerved to Ireland, as appears by the act paſſed in Ireland, commencing 25th March, 1699, laying 4s. additional duty on every 20s. value of broad-cloth exported out of Ireland, and 2s. on every 20s. value of ſerges, baize, kerſeys, ſtuffs, or any other ſorts of new drapery made of wool or mixed with wool, (frizes only excepted) and the ſame ſeſſion a law was paſſed in England, reſtraining Ireland from exporting thoſe woollen manufactures, including frize, to any other ports except to England and Wales; and there they well knew Ireland could have no conſumption for them, being excluded by their protecting duties.

Notwithſtanding the poſitive promiſe on the part of the King, Lords and Commons of England before mentioned, we find the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, in ſo ſhort a time as four years after, obliged to addreſs Queen Ann, November 3d, 1703, to obtain liberty for exporting our linens directly to the plantations, agreeable to the encouragement given by King William, as they expreſs it; and again in 1707, Auguſt 14, another humble addreſs of the Commons of Ireland, reſolved on to her Majeſty, " That " ſhe will be graciouſly pleaſed to interpoſe with the Britiſh Par- " liament in their favour, for encouragement of the linen manu- " facture in this kingdom, the term for exporting linen cloth to " the plantations being enlarged." Thoſe addreſſes prove that the Lords and Commons of England were not ſo very attentive to their ſpecious promiſes to Ireland through King William, as a GREAT NATION ought to be, or they would not have laid the Iriſh Commons under a neceſſity of addreſſing again and again for what Ireland had ſo juſt a title to, under the compact entered into.

In

In conſequence of thoſe addreſſes, a law paſſed in Britain, limiting Ireland to the liberty of exporting her plain brown and white linens only to the Britiſh colonies and plantations; by which all chequed, ſtriped, printed, painted, ſtained, or dyed linens of the manufacture of Ireland, were not allowed to be imported into the Britiſh colonies and plantations: This was their ſecond breach of this compact—the depriving of the export of frize being the firſt.

Immediately after this they impoſed a duty of 15 per cent. ad valorem, on all linens chequed, ſtriped, painted, &c. as before enumerated, imported into Britain from foreign countries, and a few years after 15 per cent. more, in the whole 30 per cent. which the Lords of the Treaſury conſtrued as extending to Iriſh linens, and thereby deprived Ireland of one full half of the benefit ariſing from the linen manufacture that ſhe had a juſt right to expect and avail herſelf of under the compact ſhe had ſubmitted to on giving up their woollen manufacture; for it was a meaſure not of her own ſeeking, but forced on her by the Britiſh Parliament, as fully appears by their addreſſes to King William. Thus, Britain was unwilling to allow Ireland the full benefit of her linen manufacture as at firſt ſolemnly promiſed and accepted of by Ireland.

By this monopolizing ſpirit which has pervaded Britain, Ireland was deprived of the cheque, ſtriped, printed, and fancy branches of the linen and hempen manufactures; and Britain not poſſeſſing the material of ſpinning on as reaſonable terms as Ireland, has eſtabliſhed thoſe chequed, ſtriped, printed and fancy manufactures of linen; and alſo the ſail-cloth in Ruſſia, Germany and France, for the ſupply of Europe, Africa and the weſtern world, to the irreparable prejudice of the Britiſh dominions.

Had the Britiſh Parliament ſupported their ſolemn promiſe entered into in 1698, to give all poſſible encouragement to the linen and hempen manufactures in Ireland, without any reſtriction or limitation whatſoever, they would have made Ireland the greateſt linen country on the face of the earth; ſhe would not at this day have been compelled by poverty and wretchedneſs to ſue for a participation of the woollen or any other manufacture; Munſter would have now been fully employed in the manufacture of ſail-cloth, doulaſs, ſheetings, and drabs; Connaught and Leinſter on cheques, furniture, light goods for printing, and the variety of fancy manufactures that the different nations now dependant on Germany, Ruſſia, Holland, and France for thoſe manufactures require, and were all at that day within the graſp of Ireland to poſſeſs, had ſhe been favoured and ſupported in thoſe different fabrics by Britain, as ſhe had a juſt right to expect.

The manufacturers of Britain, not content with ſhutting the Iriſh out of the Britiſh markets in the articles of cheques, prints, furniture, ſail-cloth, &c. applied the 23d of Geo. II. for, and obtained a bounty on Britiſh ſail-cloth exported to Ireland, of

upwards

upwards of 12 per cent. which continues in force to this day, and thereby at once deſtroyed the ſail-cloth manufacture in Ireland even for home-conſumption. This was done on a petition, it is ſaid, from ſix manufacturers only in Warrington; ſo inconſiſtent has the conduct of the Britiſh Parliament been, to ſet the petition of ſix manufacturers in a petty town, in competition with the moſt ſolemn engagements and univerſal intereſts of Ireland; but all their efforts to depreſs Ireland have only tended to extend the ſail-cloth, doulaſs, ſheeting, drab, printing, furniture, and various fabrics made of hemp and flax, more ſucceſsfully in Germany, Ruſſia, Holland, and France, which Britain would at this day have enjoyed the full benefit of in common with Ireland, had due attention been paid to the ſolemn compact entered into with Ireland in 1698.

The Iriſh may juſtly exclaim in the words of Virgil:

"Eſt mihi domi pater eſt injuſta noverca."

Or with Cato,

"A curſe on your monopoliſts, they have undone your country."

Were it neceſſary to purſue the monopolizing ſpirit of Britain, in direct contradiction to the letter and ſpirit of the ſolemn compact ſhe had engaged in with Ireland in 1698, it is obſervable that having deprived Ireland of the checked, ſtriped, and ſail-cloth manufactures, which was the natural ſeat for ſuch fabrics to be eſtabliſhed with certainty and effect, from the conveniencies of Ireland for cheap ſpinning and other workmanſhip, to ſtand in competition with the Germans, Swiſs, and French in foreign markets, Britain found the checked and ſtriped branches declining from 1757 to 1770 rapidly, and at that time by petitions from Mancheſter to the Houſe of Commons and Lords of the treaſury, and alſo by the examination of Mr. Thomas Tippen and Mr James Hodſon of Mancheſter, in the Houſe of Commons; they ſtated the declenſion of their checked and ſtriped linen goods for exportation to America and the Weſt Indies, as proceeding from the interference of low-priced Iriſh plain linens meeting them in thoſe markets, and on this teſtimony they obtained a bounty on their checked and ſtriped goods exported, which had the two fold effect of advancing Iriſh linen yarn near 15 per cent. on the manufacturers of plain Iriſh linens, and thereby enabled both the Mancheſter checks and ſtripes, and foreigners to ſupplant our plain linen manufactures in all foreign markets.

It is worthy obſervation, that the Truſtees of the Linen Manufacture of Ireland joined the Britiſh manufacturers, the 29th of Geo. II. in an application to the Treaſury and Parliament of Britain, to exempt foreign linen yarn from $2\frac{3}{4}$d. per pound duty it was ſubject to on importation into Britain for the beſt of purpoſes,

to aſſiſt Britain in her linen, check and fancy manufactures, and preſerve the material of Iriſh linen yarn on reaſonable terms to the manufacturers of Ireland; but this meaſure produced but a ſhort and temporary effect to the advantage of Ireland.

The watchful Germans immediately after laid new and heavy impoſts on the export of their material of linen yarn, and the ſagacious King of Pruſſia prohibited the export of it from or through his dominions of Sileſia, &c. and Ruſſia never permitted her yarn, (which is properly ſpeaking the vitals of a manufacture) to be exported. Thus were the Iriſh diſappointed in their hopes of being relieved from the exorbitant demands of Britain for their material of linen yarn; this conſequently drew the Britiſh demands for yarn almoſt entirely on Ireland, as appears by the evidence of their manufacturers to the Britiſh council and parliament, where they ſtate that 7-8ths of the yarn in their checks and ſtripes is Iriſh, and alſo the bed or warps of all their cottons, furniture, or fancy goods are of Iriſh linen yarn; they may alſo add moſt of their hoſiery, and it may be added, that all their manufactures have been covered by protecting and prohibitory duties at home, and forced into foreign countries by bounties, whilſt Ireland has been kept in a ſtate of vaſſalage as ſpinners to feed their monopolizing manufacturers with our linen and worſted yarn, and all raw materials that ought to be retained by regulating duties, for the employment of our ſtarving inhabitants.

Ireland had enjoyed a bounty for three years in common with Britain on her linens when exported printed, beginning in 1750; but that bounty was not renewed for near thirty years, leaſt our linen manufacture ſhould interfere with their favourite trade of printing foreign linens for their export trade in England, and at the ſame time contribute to raiſe the price of Iriſh yarn by our linen manufactures on the Mancheſter manufacturers.

Having thus placed before you the ſyſtem purſued by the Britiſh Parliament and manufacturers in ſupport of their own intereſt and excluſion of the Iriſh for near a century, in direct oppoſition to the moſt ſolemn engagements; the public will judge with what ſafety Ireland can now enter into any farther commercial arrangements of trade with them; more eſpecially as Britain retains every ſpecies of her material for her own particular uſe; and inſiſts on having the materials of Ireland in every line whatever, of linen, woollen, leather, glaſs, pottery, &c. laid open to them.—This is the ſpecies of reciprocity held out at this day to Ireland.—If there can be found in Ireland, men that will not revolt at the idea of accepting ſuch terms, they deſerve, and are worthy only the contempt and indignity offered to the Iriſh by the Britiſh manufacturers throughout their petitions and examination.

LETTER

LETTER III.

IN my firſt letter, I ſhewed that Ireland had the firſt patterns and inſtructions in the cotton manufacture from the French priſoners, before 1750; and that Britain had paid no regard to the compact entered into with Ireland, longer than it ſuited her convenience, as fully appears by her excluſion of Ireland from the checked, ſtriped, printed, dyed, and ſail-cloth manufactures, to the great prejudice of the Britiſh empire, and almoſt total ruin of Ireland.

Lord Sheffield, who ſeems to wiſh to be the repreſentative of the manufacturers of Britain, under the garb of being the great friend of Ireland aſſerts boldly, in his obſervations, p. 359, "That Ireland, is, in general, in the moſt proſperous ſtate, and has been progreſſively more ſo than any country in Europe, during the greater part of a century." In the ſame paragraph, his Lordſhip tells us, "He never aimed at popularity, and never will, and ſtates, that the ſoil of Ireland is excellent, her climate favourable to agriculture and manufactures; her people capable of whatever they pleaſe to undertake; her ſituation the firſt for trade; her principal reſtrictions removed, and that ſhe has obtained, in a ſhort time, much more than ſhe uſed to claim, and much more than her moſt ſanguine friends expected." Whoever has viewed Ireland, and continued in it ſome time, will accede to part of his lordſhip's aſſertions—that the ſoil, climate, and abilities of the people are not inferior to Britain, or any country in Europe, for manufactures and agriculture—but his lordſhip will find no advocates ſo abandoned as to allow, that we have been in ſo proſperous a ſtate as Britain, that our principal reſtrictions have been removed, and that we have obtained more than we uſed to claim, or much more than the moſt ſanguine friends of Ireland expected.

It will readily be admitted, that his lordſhip has not aimed at popularity in Ireland, nor looks to it hereafter, or he would not have ſlipped over the great opportunities thrown in his way, of ſhewing that Ireland was by name included with Britain in Oliver Cromwell's firſt navigation act, and continued ſo until deprived of the benefit of the greater part in later times, by arbitrary acts of Britain. He would have ſtated truly the various infractions made by Britain reſpecting the compact of 1698, reſigning to Ireland the linen and hempen manufactures, to all the profit and advantage they were capable of: He would have taken fire at the inſult offered to this kingdom, by the Lords of the Committee of the Britiſh Council, where they ſtate the importation of our Iriſh materials, of beef, butter, pork, green leather, ſkins, wool, linen, woollen, bay and cotton yarns, cattle, and ſuch like, as favoured

favoured in the duties on importation into Britain; and had his lordſhip diveſted himſelf of party and prejudice, which too often ſullies the page of the ableſt writers, he would have applied his great abilities and reſearches, like the immortal Davenant, (whom he quotes) to ſhew the irreparable injury done to the Britiſh empire by the unwarrantable reſtraints laid on Ireland.

By taking a view of Lancaſhire, for the laſt century, from the ſtatement of the inhabitants in 1690, that county then contained only 46,961 houſes, and the poverty of the county was ſuch, that not more than 21,962 hearths were paid for, above the number of houſes in the county; the inhabitants were then eſtimated at ſix to each houſe, which amounts to 281,766, young and old; now view the preſent ſtate of Lancaſhire, according to the petitions of their manufacturers and merchants: Mancheſter tell us they employ 500,000 in their cotton manufactures; Rochdale, and other parts of the county may ſafely aſſert they employ 50,000 in the bays and various branches of the woollen manufacture. Warrington and Lancaſter, &c. may fully prove they keep 2000 looms on the ſail-cloth manufacture, giving bread to at leaſt 12,000 working people; and the check, linen, furniture, tape, and fancy manufactures of Mancheſter give employment to at leaſt 100,000 more; add to theſe the great ſhare they have in the hard ware, chandlery, and various other branches of manufacture for Africa, &c. which added to their towns of Liverpool and Lancaſter, who now poſſeſs ſo conſiderable a ſhare of the commerce and naval ſtrength of the Britiſh empire, that they may with truth be ſaid to raiſe the number of the inhabitants of Lancaſhire, old and young, at home and employed in their navigation, to one million.

This is not a ſpeculative ſtatement, it is bringing the importance of manufactures and commerce into the view of the meaneſt capacity; and Lord Sheffield, and his Lancaſhire petitioners muſt ſubmit to the charge I ſhall bring againſt them:—That the gteater part of their wealth and proſperity has been derived from their vicinity to Ireland, whereby they have obtained her materials of raw hides, tallow, linen, woollen and bay-yarn, beef, butter, pork, &c. which the committee of council deem a favour conferred on Ireland; they have alſo ſtripped Ireland of 100,oon of her moſt valuable inhabitants to aſſiſt in their manufactures and man their ſhipping; this they may deem a farther favour conferred on the wretched Iriſh. Now let us arreſt the reader's attention to view the ruinous effects produced in Ireland by ſuch arbitrary and bad policy, as has prevailed in the Britiſh councils, for a century, reſpecting Ireland.

Whoever ſhall look into the deſcriptive views given of Lancaſhire a hundred years back, by Campbell and others, will find one half of the country, on the north ſide, ſcarcely habitable or

capable of cultivation. The ports of Liverpool and Lancaſter, were as unpromiſing to be approached or improved for an extended commerce as any in England; they will find that Lancaſhire has been raiſed from its inſignificance with Iriſh materials; the rich paſtures of Munſter have only ſerved to ſupply beef, butter, and pork, for her ſhipping, whilſt the wool, and employment of the poor women was on worſted for their looms, in Lancaſhire, Norwich, &c. and the ſpinners of Connaught, a great part of Leinſter, and half of Ulſter, have only miniſtered to the ſame diſgraceful purpoſe, to feed the manufactures of Britons, and leave the men of Ireland unemployed, to pine in poverty and wretchedneſs.

It was the policy of the Flemings, and wiſely adopted by the Dutch, to eſtabliſh ſome ſtaple manufacture at every great town, ſuitable to the circumſtances and ſituation of the inhabitants, and the ſame good policy has been purſued in many places in Britain, in the hard ware and woollen manufactures, and alſo in ſome other branches, but the experience of ages will not produce an example to compare with the cruel treatment Ireland has received from England.

In 1698, when Ireland had been a conſiderable time prohibited from exporting her live cattle to England, and had been neceſſitated to enter into a new and precarious buſineſs of fattening and ſlaughtering them, ſhe was prevailed on by threats and mighty promiſes to abandon the woollen, her only manufacture, to Britain, and turn her ſole thoughts to the linen and hempen manufacture, by which ſhe loſt, at that day, upwards of 100,000 of her moſt valuable woollen manufacturers and their families, who emigrated to France, Flanders, Germany, and Spain, to ſeek employment; and there they eſtabliſhed many valuable branches for the Levant trade, and other foreign demands in France, &c.

It appears alſo that England not content with this recent ſacrifice made by Ireland, immediately deprived Ireland of one full half of the benefit of their linen manufacture then ceded to them by the compact, as they would not allow her to export to the colonies or plantations or to Britain, one yard of chequed, ſtriped, painted, printed, ſtained, or dyed linens: but they reſerved theſe branches, which were the moſt profitable and valuable, for Lancaſhire, which county appears by the writers of that day, to have been as unpromiſing a poor wretched country as any in the Britiſh dominions, and by oppoſing the Iriſh, and encouraging the manufacture of Iriſh materials in Lancaſhire, they have raiſed that country on the ruins of Ireland, to a ſtate of importance that muſt aſtoniſh all Europe: compare Lancaſhire with any, the worſt county in Munſter, at the Revolution, and you will ſee how far the advantage was in favour of the lands and circumſtances of the Iriſh in every reſpect; and it is obvious from the ſtate-

ment

ment of the trade and inhabitants of Lancaſhire, that they now outnumber all the inhabitants in the ſix counties of Munſter.

Bad policy ſeems to have pervaded the Britiſh Councils for many years, or they could not have recommended to the Britiſh Parliament, the removal of the ſeat of manufacture, from the production of the material in Ireland; and from the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſubjects in the Britiſh dominions, for their loyalty and attachment, to the Hanoverian ſucceſſion, to hand it over, and place it among a claſs of people, who by their conduct in 1715, and 1745, have given ſufficient teſtimony of their attachments to arbitrary principles, and a deep-rooted deteſtation of the defenders of liberty.

It is not difficult to trace thoſe Mancheſter principles, in Lord Sheffield's violent denunciations againſt the Volunteers of Ireland; and that leven may be ſeen through the gauze, with which he has endeavoured to ſkreen his party, and their flimſy claims throughout the whole of their evidence; it will be ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that his lordſhip's anceſtors were not found among the party, who gallantly ſhut the gates of Derry, or defended Inniſkillen, againſt King James's troops; and his lectures on paſſive obedience, will have little weight with Iriſh manufacturers, or Volunteers.

It is beyond conception, by what means his lordſhip can prove, that the ſame mode of protecting duties, which have ſo effectually promoted the trade and manufactures of Britain, ſhould have a contrary effect in Ireland: It is a ſpecies of logick not eaſily reconcileable to Iriſh underſtanding.

Protecting duties being refuſed to the Iriſh, led them to non-importation, and then to tarring and feathering, and that produced the propoſitions, as a ſubſtitute for protecting duties.

It is ſincerely to be wiſhed, that all temporiſing expedients, may in future be abandoned by every friend to the remaining Britiſh empire, and that ſuch a ſyſtem may be purſued, as to inſpire all parties with mutual confidence, to promote the general intereſts of Britain and Ireland.

To effect this, the Britiſh manufacturers muſt extend their liberality, ſo as to allow Ireland to uſe her own material in ſupplying her manufactures, and to obtain all foreign materials on the beſt terms ſhe can, and to exchange material with Ireland, when neceſſary, for the benefit of both kingdoms; where kind offices of this ſort are not mutual, the compact will not be laſting, but aſſuredly be the foundation of future diſcord.

The fears of the manufacturers of Britain, that Ireland may at ſome future period, ſupply her own conſumption by Iriſh manufactures, is ungenerous; and Mr. Wedgwood feels actual trepidation, leaſt the Iriſh ſhould ſupplant him in the Iriſh market, by working up their own clay and flint into ſome ſpecies of earthenware to pleaſe the Iriſh taſte!

It is no leſs grating to an Iriſh ear, to be told on evey occaſion, that we want artiſts in every line of trade, to bring our manufactures to market, on a par with the Britiſh; if we are defective, it muſt give the greater advantage to them. Ireland will be content to follow their example in manufactures and commerce, provided they are no longer under their controul.

Lord Sheffield and the Britiſh manufacturers ſeem to have forgot the hundreds of thouſands of men raiſed by Ireland, to augment and recruit the armies, and man the fleets of Britain, in the different wars ſhe has been engaged in this century; and alſo the burthens laid on a country, without trade to ſupport it abroad or at home: they have wilfully overlooked the burthens of penſions and abſentees ſupported by Ireland in Britain, and above all, they have overlooked the thouſands that their monopolies and oppreſſions, drove into foreign ſtates, to fight for bread that they were deprived of at home, whoſe gallant behaviour in the cauſe of their benefactors at Fontenoy, in America, and wherever it was their fortune to be placed, will for ever mark with diſgrace the wretched politicians that drove them, by hard neceſſity, from their native country; and they have alſo forgot, that whilſt the volunteers of Ireland bade defiance to all foreign enemies, they glorioufly cloſed the war, by aſſiſting the parliament in raiſing 20,000 men to man the Britiſh fleet, and Ireland alſo gave a vote to carry on the war beyond her feeble abilities.

Had the Iriſh deſerted the Britiſh ſtandard on any of thoſe great occaſions of war or rebellion, as Manchester has done, there would have remained no Britiſh colonies to contend for the trade of; and if the manufactures of each country was prohibited to be uſed or worn by the other, the Irith would not be the greateſt loofers by ſuch an event taking place.

LETTER IV.

THE treaty of commerce propoſed by Great Britain to Ireland, is ſet in competition with the treaty of commerce attempted by France with Britain in 1713, and their ſimiliarity and duplicity compared. As the preſent arrangement of commerce between us and Britain very much reſembles the conflict that ſubſiſted between England and France the latter end of Charles the ſecond's reign, James the ſecond's, and at the cloſe of Queen Anne's, I ſhall ſtate a comparative view of each, as nearly as circumſtances will admit, to ſhew the imminent danger Ireland is expoſed to.

It

It is notorious to every reader of hiſtory, that the infamous houſe of Stuart, and the leaders of their parliaments, were always penſioners to France, and were generally very attentive to French intereſts; whereby it appears that France had the ſupplying of England, Ireland, and Scotland with all the manufactures of linens, ſilks, and paper, alſo with wines and brandies, to the amount of 1,650,000l. yearly in theſe articles alone, excluſive of many others for the conſumption of England, whilſt France took from England in return only about 200,000l. value yearly, of the materials of lead, tin, leather, allum, copperas, coals, horn-plates, &c. and plantation goods, which left a ballance of 1,450,000l. to be paid yearly to France in money; and France alſo poſſeſſed as great advantages with Ireland and Scotland in proportion to their trade.

This diſproportion in the imports of Britiſh manufactures into France, was owing to the protecting duties that Engliſh woollen goods were ſubject to in France, from 24 to 40 per cent. on their value by the tariff renewed in 1664, and by another tariff in 1699 they were raiſed to 36 and up to 55 per cent. on their value; and Spaniſh cloth made in England was prohibited by the edict of 1701; in the mean time French ſilks were only ſubject to a duty of 13 up to 23 per cent. on the value imported into the Britiſh dominions, and linens about 7 up to 15 per cent. on the value; whereby their manufactures and produce, imported into England alone, yearly, ſtood thus about the year 1664, and up to 1678, viz.

	£.
French linens	600,000
Manufactured ſilks	500,000
Wines	450,000
Brandies	70,000
Paper	30,000
	1,650,000

They alſo imported into England gold and ſilver lace, and a vaſt train of luxuries not here enumerated.

This drain on the ſtate excited great murmurs and became ſo alarming as to rouſe the landed intereſt to unite with the trading intereſt in 1678, whereby they became ſo ſtrong as to paſs an act prohibiting the French trade, in oppoſition to the court intereſt: and in the preamble of the act they ſtate, "That the importation "of the product and manufactures of France had exhauſted the "treaſure of the nation, leſſened the value of native manufac-"tures, and cauſed great detriment to the kingdom in general."

The advance of woollen manufactures for home conſumption and exportation, in conſequence of the prohibition of the French

trade

trade in 1678, raiſed the price of wool, and all dying ſtuffs dependant thereon, from 40 to 50 per cent. and gave ſuch general employment to the people, and a riſe to land, as was ſcarcely conceiveable, in the ſpace of two or three years: however, this happy change in the circumſtances of England was at that time but of ſhort duration; for on James the ſecond's acceſſion to the throne, in 1684, he called a new parliament, who in compliance to his wiſhes, and to gratify his good ally the French King, repealed the prohibitory act of 1678, in 1685.

The ſimiliarity of times and circumſtances are ominous.—Ireland, after an eighty years ſubjugation, had the firſt dawn of freedom thrown on her manufactures in 1778: and as if the Britiſh Cabinet had taken the line of their conduct from the wretched policy of the curſed race of Stuarts, they fix on the year 1785 to endeavour to wreſt from the Iriſh not only their new acquiſitions in trade, but their liberty.

The Parliament of England, to ſooth and temporize with the people, when they had reſtored the French trade, reſolved that all perſons ſhould wear the woollen manufactures of England ſix months in the year; this was a parliamentary non-importation reſolution: but the French poured into England upwards of four millions value of their manufactures, and put a general ſtop to all the Engliſh manufactures, and with them to the payment of rents.

The awful ſcene that followed ought to be an eternal warning to miniſters, not to temporize or play with the feelings and diſtreſſes of an injured people, as, before three years expired from the repeal of the law prohibiting the French trade, England, as if with one voice, were rouſed from their lethargy, and not only for ever baniſhed all the diabolical promoters of ſuch ruinous meaſures, but, to ſecure themſelves againſt all future invaſions of their trade or liberties, they called in the Prince of Orange and crowned him their King.

If the public prints tranſmit the ſpeeches of men high in office fairly to the people, there are ſome extremely exceptionable have been made where the people of Ireland are deſired to look to their great and good ally the French King for ſupport, if they do not ſubmit to thoſe odious propoſitions. It was ſuch audacious language in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, and at the Council Board, that ſevered for ever the thirteen United States of America from the Britiſh empire; and who ever uſes ſuch irritating language ought to be baniſhed from his Majeſty's councils.

The people of England were not diſappointed in their expectations on calling King William to the throne. One of the firſt acts of the firſt parliament he ſummon'd, was to prohibit the French trade, with this emphatical title given in the act, as a "Nuiſance to the "kingdom." And at that day, on ſtating the trade between England and France, it appears, that England gained by the prohibition of the French trade, no leſs than 1,450,000l. yearly.

At

At the treaty of Utrecht, the French, with the aſſiſtance of the infamous adminiſtration that prevailed in Britain during the laſt years of Queen Anne's reign, attempted to have their trade to England reſtored: the Engliſh miniſtry appointed the Earl of Strafford, a Lieutenant general, and the Biſhop of Briſtol, to conduct the intereſts of Britain; and the French appointed the Marquis of Huxelles, Marſhal of France, and Nicholas Meſnager, Louis the fourteenth's private Secretary, the beſt informed and ableſt ſtateſman of his day, to conduct the intereſts of France. They entered into and ſigned a treaty of commerce on the part of their reſpective Sovereigns, the 31ſt of March, 1713, ſubject to the approbation of the Britiſh Parliament.

It may be eaſily ſuppoſed how unequal the Biſhop was to the ſagacious Meſnager, and the commercial treaty they concluded verified it. Meſnager bound the Britiſh manufactures to pay, by the tariff made in France, ſo far back as the 18th September, 1664, whereby Engliſh woollen cloths (the only article of conſequence they had at that day to export to them) were ſubject from 30 to 40 per cent. duty on the value, and on the loweſt rated Britiſh articles 24½ per cent. and the duties to be paid in Britain on French wrought ſilks did not exceed 17½ per cent. and thoſe on lockrams, doulais, and all ſorts of linens not above 10 per cent. of their value at a medium; and before the revolution France ſupplied all the better ſort of linens uſed in Britain and Ireland of every denomination, as the trade for Dutch and German linens was introduced in conſequence of the prohibitions laid on the French trade in 1678, and re-enacted the 1ſt year of William and Mary.

This infamous treaty of commerce was ſucceſsfully oppoſed by all the trading intereſt of Britain, and rejected by the Houſe of Commons.

In 1714 the Queen died, and thereby releaſed the Britiſh dominions from as abandoned and dangerous an adminiſtration as ever diſgraced her annals, as they were the avowed enemies of her liberties and commerce.

There is ſuch a ſtriking ſimiliarity between the attacks made on the liberties and commerce of Britain by the miniſteraliſts of the times I have laid before you, (who were the penſioners of France) and the conduct of the ruling junto of the preſent day, that the picture applies in almoſt every point of view, and without the ſpirit of prophecy we may pronounce, that the promoters and abettors of this plot againſt the conſtitution and commerce of Ireland, will ere long, be removed in both kingdoms from his Majeſty's confidence and councils, as the declared enemies of the unanimity, liberty and commerce, that every good man ought to promote throughout the Britiſh dominions.

I ſhall

I ſhall conclude this letter by a ſtatement of the amount between Britain and Ireland, in ſuch articles of real profit, as two independent nations have a right to bring in charge againſt each other.

In the report of the Board of Trade, made 17th July, 1780, by Lord Carliſle, Meſſrs. Greville, Eden, Stuart and Gibbon, they ſtate that Ireland ſends yearly to Britain about one million value of linen cloth, four-fifths of which they ſuppoſe to be conſumed in Britain, which it is believed is rather over-rating the value imported by Britain on a medium of the years ſince 1780; and as the quantity imported by them to make up aſſortments for re-exportation to preſerve their commercial ſyſtem, cannot be charged to the account of Ireland, they ſhould only credit Britain for taking yearly in linens 800,000l. They ſhould alſo only credit Britain for corn, candles, coaches, fiſh, glue, horſes, meal, ſilk manufacture and ſoap, ſhipped for them to the amount of 47,030l. 10s. 6h. making in the whole 847,030l. 10s. 6h.

They ſhould give no credit in this account to Britain for taking from Ireland the material of manufacture or proviſions, they are the proper objects of taxation or prohibition; and as well might Britain deem it a favour to Italy or China that ſhe takes their raw ſilks to carry on their manufactures, as to deem it a favour to Ireland that ſhe requires her proviſions and raw materials of every ſpecies duty free. It will be the greateſt badge of ſlavery impoſed on Ireland, to deny her the command of her own materials and proviſions of every ſort.

It appears that Ireland has imported from Britain, on a medium of three years ending 25th March, 1783, of manufactures and produce of Britain, Aſia, Africa, and America, all of which ſhe could have in return for Iriſh manufactures, or on terms much more favourable to Ireland, 2,343,606l. 14s. 4h.

The extraordinary military eſtabliſhment kept up in Ireland might be reduced one half; and Lord Sheffield muſt allow, that with the aſſiſtance of the volunteer army, the kingdom might be ſufficiently protected and a ſaving made, under that head, of at leaſt 400,000l. yearly.

The money remitted to abſentees in Britain is more than 1,500,000l.

To penſioners, life annuitants, and intereſt of money, 300,000.
Total 4,543,606l. 14s. 4h.

Balance to be paid to Britain, except the reduction for the part of the army maintained in Ireland as a load on her induſtry, and to aſſiſt in collecting unneceſſary taxes, 3,696,576l. 3s. 10d.

To make up this annual tribute to this monopolizing ſiſter, let us look into the cabins of the wretched Iriſh, and inquire by what means they make up ſo great a balance.

The woollen manufactures, exported from Yorkſhire alone, are equal to the deficiency; but the Iriſh have not been allowed to people

people the country and eſtabliſh manufactures; it was not congenial to the wiſhes of this ungrateful ſiſter to permit the Iriſh to ſeed more ſheep than to ſupply thoſe various manufactures of Britain, dependant on Iriſh bay or worſted yarn, with that material, and furniſh clothing to ſuch poor as could not afford to pay for Britiſh manufactures; and thus too thirds of the paſture grounds, which would otherwiſe make valuable ſheep walks or tillage ground, have been converted to dairy grounds to make butter for exportation, to guſt the infatiable appetites of Engliſh manufacturers, which the poor Iriſh cottagers are not permitted to taſte, or to fatten oxen, which the wretched herdſman has only the gratification of viewing, and to ſupply the navigation and colonies of Britain; and until within theſe few years even that branch was fettered by the moſt humiliating and ſlaviſh embargoes.

Her linen manufacture has been reſtrained in order to ſupply material of yarn for the cheque, furniture, fancy goods, hoſiery, thread and tape manufactures of Britain.

Thoſe valuable materials, with the produce of her trade with all the reſt of the world, go to make up this annual drain, that Britain, by her unjuſt monopolies, penſioners, and Iriſh abſentees, obliges Ireland to make good, by ſtarving the inhabitants, and cruſhing all manufactures to prevent rivalſhip, and thereby obtain the materials of beef, butter, green leather linen, and worſted yarn, &c. on the cheaper terms.

LETTER V.

WHEN inexperienced ſelf-ſufficient boys are dignified with titles of Chancellors, and fill the higheſt departments of great nations, it is the leſs ſurpriſing to hear that a reſtitution of rights is to be conſidered as conferring of favours; it is deemed a mighty boon offered to Ireland to repeal the Britiſh act 26th Geo. II. made to deſtroy the manfacture of ſail-cloth in Ireland, in direct breach of the moſt ſolemn engagement of the Britiſh Parliament in 1698, on Ireland's relinquiſhing the woollen trade to them.

Let the act of 26th George II. in Britain be repealed, which grants a bounty on Britiſh ſail cloth exported to Ireland, and thoſe puny legiſlators may drop their flouriſhing clauſes about Iriſh ſail-cloth imported in Britain, which are only calculated to deceive the ignorant and unwary, and claim ſome ſubſtantial compenſation in return for viſionary expectations.

Whoever ſhall conſider the effects produced by the bounty granted in Britain, will obſerve, that it has made Britain our

greareſt rival, and extended the Britiſh linen manufactures three to one more than the Iriſh; the bounty drawn in Britain on Iriſh linens exported being only a trifle, and will daily decline as the Iriſh foreign trade increaſes.

In the third paragraph or clauſe of the bill, it is laid down as a fundamental and eſſential condition of the ſettlement, that in all caſes where the articles of conſumption for either kingdom ſhall be charged with an internal duty, ſuch manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a countervailing duty adequate to the internal duty charged.—This applies particularly to the linen manufacture of Ireland; and the inſtant this inſidious clauſe takes effect, the Britiſh manufacturers of linens, cottons, hoſiery, furniture, fancy goods, cheques, &c. &c. would tell you truly, that all your linens were ſubject to a duty on importation into Britain in proportion to the quantity of yarn in each piece, as a countervailing duty for the Iriſh duty charged on linen yarn exported; Britain has no linen yarn to export; and upon this principle alſo the funds granted to the Linen Board expreſly for the purpoſe of promoting the linen and hempen manufactures, would be taken into account and countervailed, and alſo any future grant by parliament. Thus you muſt take off the ſmall protection you have on the material of your ſtaple manufacture exported, or the duty on your linens at large takes place.

The inſidious advocates for this audacious meaſure are challenged to deny this poſition of facts, which is ſcreened from general obſervation by the ambiguity of expreſſion, and farrago of compoſition which marks every feature of thoſe envenomed propoſitions, and this fraudulent bill.

LETTER VI.

Stultorum eſt accredere falſis.

IT is become neceſſary to take notice of ſome new productions, that, like a two edged ſword, if not confuted, may have the double effect of making the Iriſh on the one ſide, believe they and all their manufactures are at the mercy and diſpoſal of Britain, whilſt on the other ſide the manufacturers and trading intereſt of Britain are told, they take a million and a half yearly (a Right Honourable Gentleman ſays, two millions and a half) in linen from Ireland that ſhe can vend to no other nation whatever, and what is a much more wonderful compliment, that Britain actually taxes her home conſumption 450,000l. yearly to favour the ſale of Iriſh linens, and many farther extraordinary and unfounded aſſertions. The extravagance of ſuch poſitions would ſeem ſufficient

ficient to refute themſelves in the opinion of every perſon who had any knowledge of the linen trade in Britain or Ireland; but, hearing that ſome of the moſt reſpectable gentlemen for probity and honour in the Houſe of Commons of Ireland have introduced thoſe arguments into their ſpeeches, and have been led to believe there was a foundation for ſuch unwarrantable publications, it becomes neceſſary to undeceive them as ſoon as poſſible, by ſtating the truth to the public.

The writer of "Free Thoughts upon the preſent Criſis," ſtiling himſelf 'A Country Gentleman,' ought, in juſtice to the exalted character he aſſumes, to have founded his arguments on principles that would bear Examinator's ſcrutiny; but his information is extremely erroneous, or his object muſt be to create a breach between the two kingdoms, by ſuch miſrepreſentations as could never be intended to conciliate commercial differences between them.

The exports of the year ending 25th March, 1782, have been ſtated in the Cuſtom Houſe books at 25,044,725 yards, either by miſtake, or to anſwer ſome baſe purpoſe. The merchants complained of it to the Linen Committee of the Houſe of Commons, as over-rated at leaſt 10,000,000 of yards, as they well knew the exports of that year did not exceed the exports of the year preceding or ſubſequent, which were (to all parts of the world from Ireland)

In the year ending	yards.	l.	s.	d.
March 25, 1781,	15,058,560			
Ditto, 1783,	16,205,833			
	31,264,393			
Medium of 3 years, ending March 25, 1783, -	15,632,196			
Which, at 15d. per yard, is - -		977,012	5	0
We ſhall firſt deduct from this medium ſum the value of 2,000,000, of yards exported immediately from Ireland to foreign countries at 15d. per yard, as likewiſe 1,087,561 yards exported on bounty from Britain, and alſo 150,266 yards exported and not intitled to bounty—total 3,237,827 yards, at 15d. per yard, not conſumed in Britain, -		202,364	3	9
The amount of linens conſumed in Britain yearly		774,648	1	3

From this ſum is to be deducted about 200,000l. value of cambricks, linen gauze, lenoes and about forty different denominations of Britiſh linen manufactures that are imported yearly into Ireland for her

own conſumption, a great part of which comes without entry, as they pay no duty, which ſhall be eſtimated at only, although believed double the value, - - - 174,648 1 3

This leaves an actual charge of manufacture againſt Ireland at only - 600,000 0 0 taken yearly from Ireland for the conſumption of Britain; and Examinator challenges the advocates for Britiſh monopoly and Iriſh depreſſion to come forward and controvert any part of this ſtatement if they can.

In anſwer to the next part of this pretended Country Gentleman's Statement (page 18) that Britain taxes her home conſumption of linens 450,000l. yearly, to favour the ſale of Iriſh linens, I ſhall ſubjoin the duties paid on importation of foreign linens, and re-drawn on ſuch part as was re-exported in ſix years ending Chriſtmas 1782, which is ready to be produced, certified by John Tomkyns, Aſſiſtant Inſpector General, London, March 3, 1784.

Duty paid on foreign linens imported.

Year.	l.	s.	d.
1777,	165,806	5	9
1778,	136,456	19	11
1779,	143,228	6	6
1780,	165,636	3	4
1781,	156,151	1	4
1782,	156,070	17	3
Total.	923,349	14	1
	153,891	12	4

Medium duties on ſix years, Ending Chriſtmas 1782.

Duty re-drawn on foreign linens re-exported.

Year.	l.	s.	d.
1777,	32,475	15	10
1778,	28,116	19	0
1779,	27,706	16	3
1780,	36,743	12	0
1781,	23,475	18	11
1782,	26,462	8	1
	174,981	10	1
	29,163	11	8

Medium drawn back.

124,728 0 8 Medium duties remaining on the laſt ſix years.

From

From the account here ſtated 124,728l. 0s. 8d. appears to be the actual duties remaining to the revenue of England on foreign linens on a medium of thoſe ſix years, inſtead of 450,000l. which has been ſo confidently ſtated and aſſerted by this Country Gentleman in his "Free Thoughts," and has thereby led moſt reſpectable characters into the groſſeſt errors in their debates in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons; and if this writer will look into the ſtate of the linen manufacture of Scotland, which is now nearly as great in value and number of yards as the Iriſh linens exported to England, and alſo examine the report of the Board of Trade, dated Whitehall, July 17, 1780, (ſee Lord Sheffield's publication, p. 78), he will find they ſtate the advantage at 5½ per cent. that Britiſh linen manufactures have enjoyed, ſince the commencent of the bounty in 1743, over the linen manufacture of Ireland, and the operation of the bounty as ſtated by the ſame report fully proves it, viz.

The firſt bounties on Britiſh and Iriſh linens exported from Britain, took place in 1743, and the exports from Britain were as follow:

Years.	On Britiſh linens. Yards.	On Iriſh linens. Yards.
1743	52,779	40,907
1753	641,510	1,039,967
1763	2,308,310	2,588,564
1773	5,235,266	2,832,246

It is obvious from this view of the operation of the Britiſh bounties, that they have militated ſtrongly againſt the compact entered into with Ireland, to encourage the linen and hempen manufacture here to all the profit and advantage Ireland was capable of. The Board of Trade expreſs themſelves as follows in that report: "We think it right to add, that the bounty has alſo been the means of forcing forwards an extenſive linen manufacture in this kingdom." In the ſame report they tell us, that Ireland muſt avail herſelf of part of the cheque trade by the bounty granted in Ireland, as the linen yarn is moſtly imported from Ireland, and that even at that day, (in 1780,) their exports amounted to 120,000l. yearly in cheques, when Britain had been beat out of more than half the foreign trade by the Germans, French and Swiſs; and it muſt be noted that Ireland was never allowed to ſend a yard of cheques to Britain, notwithſtanding the copious and flouriſhing expreſſions uſed throughout the compact.

It muſt now appear to the reader, that this Country Gentleman took his information reſpecting the linen trade of Ireland, from an uninformed, ignorant man, and that he was too credulous or he would not have ſwallowed ſuch idle ſtories; but from his repreſentation (in page 20) of there being no demand for fine linens on the

the Continent, where he would have us believe he ſpent ſome time, his information is as bad as that given him by his linen manufacturer in page 18.

Every perſon of the leaſt information muſt have heard, that Holland and Flanders have been for ages famous for manufacturing fine linens, and Sileſia lawns are in no leſs eſtimation throughout Europe and America. It is as well known that the Iriſh have beat the Dutch and Flemings out of the Britiſh market in fine linens, and are making an impreſſion in the lawns, and the Cuſtom-houſe returns will ſhew this pretended traveller that we now export conſiderable quantities of fine linens to Holland, France, Flanders, Spain, Portugal, up the Mediterranean to the Eaſt Country, and even to Ruſſia.

The importation of Dutch Hollands into England, has declined in England gradually as the Iriſh improved in their fine linen manufacture, in the proportion as is here repreſented,

				l.	s.	d.
Years ending at Chriſtmas.	1730	1,170,815	Ells at 5s. per Ell, Value	292,703	15	
	1740	885,651	do. do.	221,412	15	
	1750	388,030	do. do.	97,007	10	
	1760	150,570¾	do. do.	37,642	13	9
	1770	72,076	do. do.	18,019	—	
	1780	22,642	do. do.	5,660	10	

Thus it appears the conſumption of Holland and Flanders linen for ſhirting is filled up by the Scotch and Iriſh in the Britiſh markets.

This Country Gentleman, by introducing his having been on the Continent, and his advice to poor Paddy puts me in mind of a traveller I ſome years ago came in the ſame ſhip with from Parkgate. Whilſt I was attentively diſpoſing in ſafety a parcel of ſamples of various manufactures which appeared to me fit to be introduced into different parts of Ireland, that I had collected in my travels, my brother traveller was no leſs attentive in taking care of a particular ſpecies of dogs he had brought from Italy, that are famous for ſearching out the truffles and morels, which, he aſſured me, the ignorant Iriſh had growing in every part of the kingdom, but had not the induſtry to even keep proper dogs to look for them.

Had our Country Gentleman viſited Count Cobentzel at Bruſſels, he would have informed him that the fine linen manufactures at Brabant produce upwards of a million ſterling annual revenue to the Emperor, and he might have transferred ſome of their knowledge to the poor Paddies that he now affects to turn into ridicule, for a want of knowledge how to turn their materials of every denomination to the beſt advantage. It is the misfortune of Ireland that ſhe abounds with too many ſuch travellers.

LETTER

LETTER VII.

FROM the laſt letter it muſt be obvious to the meaneſt capacity, that the ſtatements made by the pretended Country Gentleman in his "Free Thoughts," and the ſuperſtucture of an account and arguments founded on thoſe falſe principles, were planned as an introduction to the inſidious propoſitions prepared for Ireland; and when the Iriſh are fully informed of the ſnare that was laid for them, like a gilded pill, fraught with fraud, ambiguity, and falſehood in every paragraph, they will exult, with Examinator, that they have for the preſent eſcaped the doſe.

It is now neceſſary to follow this pretended traveller through more of his curious arguments and concluſions, in order to elucidate his novel mode of ſtating an account between Britain and Ireland.

The laſt letter ſhews demonſtrably, that the balance in favour of Ireland in the linen manufacture for the conſumption of Britain, was no more than 600,000l. yearly, in the three years ending 25th March 1783. It is believed by the great increaſe of Scotch linens, and fancy goods of various ſorts imported for the conſumption of Ireland, that this ballance is overrated near 200,000l. and the decleníion of the linen manufacture in Ireland is thereby apparently owing to the increaſe of the linen manufacture in Britain for home conſumption, and the operation of the bounty, being 5½ per cent. and more, in their favour for exportation, and the unprotected acceſs that Britain enjoys to the Iriſh market for linen yarn to ſupply all her manufactures.

This partial diſtribution of the bounty in Britain from 1743 to 1780, whilſt Ireland gave no bounty, being upwards of 5½ per cent. in favour of Britiſh linen manufactures over the Iriſh, has been the means of enabling Britain, aided by the command of Iriſh linen yarn, to make goods on equal or better terms in many reſpects than the Iriſh, and their advantage in the bounty on their own manufactures over the Iriſh has given them ſo far the lead in exportation as to enable them to draw the bounty for 5,235,266 yards yearly, for the year ending in 1773, where the Iriſh linens only drew bounty in the ſame year for 2,832,246 yards yearly; and the Board of Trade acknowledge, p. 78 of Lord Sheffield's obſervations, "That the bounty has been the means of forcing forwards an extenſive linen manufacture in Britain, though ſtrugling under a great diſadvantage as to the growth and ſupply of the raw material." From this account it is apparent that Britiſh linen manufactures have taken the lead of the Iriſh in the export trade, from Britain, by means of the partial diſtribution of the bounty.

The

The ſucceſsful operation of the bounty granted in Ireland, appears as follows from the commencement.

			£.	s.	d.
paid in	1781	on linens exported to foreign countries	199	12	11
	1782	ditto —— ——	2072	8	4¼
	1783	ditto —— ——	1779	18	2
	1784	ditto —— ——	15,570	13	6½

There is no doubt the Iriſh bounty will make the low priced linens of Ireland rear their drooping head again in all foreign markets.

It is neceſſary to have retroſpect to the importation of foreign linens into England, to decide on the report made by the Board of Trade reſpecting the encouragement given to home made and Iriſh linens imported into England: and alſo how far they have ſucceeded in their competition with foreign linens in ſupplying the home or foreign demands.

In 1673, when France nearly ſupplied the whole of the Engliſh market with linens, as appears by the return of the cuſtom-houſe, 29th November, 1674, the value of all the ſpecies imported that year, particularized in the Britiſh Merchant, p. 181, is 507,250l. 4s.

The French trade being prohibited in the firſt year of William and Mary, all foreign linens thenceforward were imported from Germany, the Eaſt country, and Holland, and by Lord Sommers's Report in the Journals of the Britiſh Houſe of Lords in 1703, it appears that their medium value imported in two years, ending Chriſtmas 1702, was 700,935l. 2s. 10½d. yearly.

By the examination at the bar of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons in 1774, the foreign linens imported, paying duty yearly, were eſtimated at 2,000,000l. ſterling, and the contraband trade in cambricks, damaſk, dowlas, lawns, &c. &c. to at leaſt 500,000l. in value more yearly. Total 2,500,000l.

It appears on a medium of twenty years, ending Chriſtmas 1771, that the import of foreign linen that paid duty in England, was no leſs than 27,455,049 yards, and the medium duty paid thereon for twenty years, 193,921l. 4s. 7d. and that of this quantity in thoſe twenty years 7,906,214 yards were re-exported, and that the duty re-drawn on a medium for the ſame time was 52,399l. 17s. 5d. which left 19,548,835 yards for the annual conſumption of England, excluſive of the 500,000l. value contraband imports, paying to the revenue nett 141,521l. 7s. 2d.

It alſo appears from this ſtatement of the revenue of England, that the foreign linens imported into England in ſix years, ending Chriſtmas 1782, has fallen ſhort of the quantity imported on a medium of twenty years, ending Chriſtmas 1771, for home conſumption, in proportion to the duty retained in England, being

leſs

leſs by 16,793l. 6s. 6d. and on the trade of foreign linens imported for re-exportation, nearly one-half in thoſe laſt eleven years; the medium duty drawn back on linens re-exported, and moſtly printed in England, for the foreign trade having been 52,399l. 17s. 5d. in the twenty years ending Chriſtmas 1771, and only 29,163l. 11s. 8d. in the ſix years ending Chriſtmas 1782.

It appears alſo from the cuſtom-houſe returns that the linens imported into England from Ireland in three years ending Chriſtmas 1772, was on a medium 19,329,691 yards, and that the whole exports of Ireland on a medium, in the three years ending 25th March 1783, being ten years after, was only 15,632,196 yards.

The kingdom at large, and particularly the province of Ulſter and all the linen counties, are called upon to conſider this ſtatement, taken from the examination at the bar of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons in 1774, and other authentic records herein referred to, and they will ſee with what rapid progreſs Britain gains on both the foreigners and Iriſh, in ſupplying her own conſumption of linens; and it is only in the fine branch, in which Ireland ſtands unrivalled through the world, in which ſhe can hope to keep her ground in this competition for the conſumption of England, as the progreſs of the cotton and callico manufacture, which are an effectual ſubſtitute for Iriſh linens in the printing line for home conſumption, and the rapid progreſs made in the doulas and ſheeting manufactures over the greater part of the North and Weſt of England, and alſo in Scotland, as will fully appear in their examinations in 1773 and 1774, before the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, warrants the charge brought againſt them in the firſt paragraph of this letter, of their propoſitions being frought with fraud, ambiguity and deception.

There is a time when men of experience and information ought to ſtand forth and ſpeak out, and as at this time there appears a a combination and union of all parties in Britain againſt Ireland, aided by the influence of a Britiſh Council, penſions, placemen, and promiſes, it is only by a virtuous repreſentation of the people, and the landed intereſt being fully apprized of their approaching danger, that Ireland can hope to be ſhielded from the perſevering ſpirit of perſecution ſhe is likely to undergo.

Britain holds out to Ireland, in her inſidious propoſitions and bills, the free importation of her linens for ever; well knowing that ſhe will be able fully to ſupply her home conſumption in the coarſe trade with linens, cottons and callicoes of her own manufacture, in leſs then ten years more. This is the mighty boon propoſed to Ireland, for which Britain demands a ſecurity of having all her material of linen yarn, wool, and woollen yarn, beef, butter, hides, ſkins, tallow, &c. &c. in ſhort, the whole vitals of Iriſh manufactures, free of all duties for ever; with a ſecurity of the Iriſh market for all Britiſh manufactures of every denomi-

nation, whilſt Britain retains inviolate every ſpecies of her material, and alſo claims the reſidue of her hereditary revenue. But Ireland ſeems to approach that happy æra when her parliament will be fully informed how to ſet a proper value on native material, as well as Britain, France, or any other country in Europe.

This pretended country gentleman has ſtated an account between Britain and Ireland, in which, like Lord Sheffield, he has blended material with manufacture, and ſuppoſes every reader as ignorant of the mode of ſtating accounts between independent nations as he appears to be.

The authority of an account ſtated between Ruſſia and Britain in 1774, at the bar of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, by the Ruſſian agent, Mr. Edward Foſter, which may be ſeen at the linen office in that examination, will form a precedent to go by in ſtating an account between Britain and Ireland.

The Ruſſian agent called evidence to the bar, who ſtated the correſpondence between the two empires as follows:

"That Britain and Ireland take yearly from Ruſſia from 7 to 8000 tons of flax, and from 16 to 18,000 tons of hemp, that they take little or no cordage, that with reſpect to flaxen yarn for making linen, none is allowed to be exported: that the quantity of iron taken by them for ſome years preceding that time may be reckoned at 30,000 tons, for their manufactures and navy; that excluſive of hemp, flax, and iron, they take from Ruſſia hog's briſtles, tallow, iſinglaſs, ſome bees wax, maſts and timber from Riga for ſhips building and the navy, and fir timber from the White Sea, linſeed, and in various coarſe linen manufactures to the amount of about one tenth of their whole export; that their linens pay a duty from 8 to 9 per cent. on exportation from Ruſſia, that hemp pays about 12½ per cent. and on flax about 7½ per cent. by the preſent tariff; that Britain and Ireland carry on the whole trade between them and Ruſſia with their own ſhipping, and that there are 300 ſhips, one year with another, employed from Great Britain and Ireland to the port of Peterſburgh alone, and they reckon as many ſhips, or the ſame quantity of tonnage, employed yearly to the ports of Riga, Narva, Revel, Wyburg, Archangel, and Onega: ſo that they compute the whole at 600 ſhips, and the tonage at about 170,000 tons yearly.

He ſaid, "That it muſt be matter of computation to ſtate the amount of all commodities exported yearly by Great Britain to Ruſſia; [it is worthy notice that in the exports to Ruſſia Great Britain only is named, Ireland bore no part;] to Peterſburgh only the exports may amount to about 300,000l. ſterling, excluſive of jewellery; beſides which he could not form a judgment of the Ruſſian imports from Britain into Riga, Revel, Nerva, and Archangel; that thoſe exports from Britain conſiſt of woollen cloths, baize, ſhalloons, flannels, callimancoes, cottons, velverets, and other

other Mancheſter and Norwich goods; in malt liquor, carriages, earthenware called Queen's ware, buttons, and hardware, in tin, lead, allum, and kerſeys, beaver and other ſkins, cochineal, indigo, pepper, and white callicoes.

"That the duties on Britiſh woollen manufactures imported into Ruſſia are about 17½ to 18 per cent. on the value, and on other Britiſh manufactures they varied from 25 to 39 per cent. and that he apprehended the importation of Britiſh manufactures into Ruſſia was an increaſing trade.

"That he believed the balance of trade between Great Britain, Ireland, and Ruſſia, was in favour of Ruſſia from 800,000l. to one million ſterling yearly; and here he ſtated, that though in favour of Ruſſia, it is not in prejudice of Great Britain; for with reſpect to manufactured articles, againſt manufactured articles, the balance is in favour of Britain; and that balance which he ſtated to be in favour of Ruſſia, was every farthing of it paid for raw materials, the greater part of which, he believed, Britain could not do without."

There is ſuch a ſtriking ſimilarity between Ruſſia and Ireland, and the neceſſary mode of ſtating their accounts with Britain upon terms of reciprocity, that this ſtatement of the Ruſſian account is ſubmitted to public conſideration, as fair ground to follow in ſtating the account between Britain and Ireland.

The Lords of the Committee of Council, Lord Sheffield, the Country Gentleman (who offers his Free Thoughts,) and the whole tribe of Britiſh manufacturers, are called upon to conſider the Ruſſian agent's ſtatement of accounts between two independent empires; and when they view the firm ſtile in which a country juſt emerged from barbariſm and darkneſs in which they had been ſhrouded for ages, until firſt introduced as it were, to the civilized world by Peter the Great (Czar of Muſcovy) within thoſe fifty years, they muſt bluſh at the inſult offered to Ireland in ſtating as a favour to her the admiſſion of her raw materials, duty free, into Britain, and making them afterwards an article in charge againſt Ireland, to counterbalance the manufactures of Britain exported thither.

The firſt treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Ruſſia was ſigned by Mr. Rondeau in 1736; the laſt by Lord Macartney, in 1766, for twenty-one years; and it is worthy notice, that on Lord Macartney's looking into the exports of Ruſſia for forty years back, there did not appear any linen or other yarn in their exports; and that is confirmed in the evidence of the Ruſſian agent, at the bar of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, in ſaying none is allowed to be exported; yet the Britiſh manufacturers will inſiſt on having the Iriſh material of yarns, and all Iriſh materials and produce, and alſo to charge it in account againſt Ireland as a favour that they take them from her.

The Iriſh bounty on linens exported had been ſolicited by examinator from 1756 down to 1780 before it was obtained, commencing the 24th of June, and on this bounty depends the ſucceſs of the coarſe linen trade of Ireland, to preſerve an equilibrium with the Britiſh linens in foreign markets, and enable the Iriſh to meet the linen manufactures of Germany, France and Ruſſia in all thoſe markets.

In the laſt letter it appeared, that the bounty in Britain had militated ſtrongly againſt the linen manufacture of Ireland, by encouraging the linen manufacture in Britain; and the bounty paid lately on Britiſh linens exported, is three fold what is paid on Iriſh linens. This muſt have appeared to the Board of Trade, where they ſtate part of the examinations at the bar of the Commons in 1773 and 1774, in their report to the Lords of the committee of council appointed to conſider the Iriſh bills [See Lord Sheffield, page 71]; and ſo long as that bounty is continued to Britiſh linens, it will gradually prevail to exclude the Iriſh coarſe linens in all foreign markets, as well as in the home market of Britain.

The granting that bounty in 1743, on Britiſh linens, was a direct invaſion of the compact ſubſiſting between Britain and Ireland, in which England had promiſed, as much as one country could promiſe to another, to encourage the Iriſh linen and hempen manufactures; but ſo fragil is the faith of nations, that ſhe did not keep her promiſe inviolate quite three years out.

In the next letter ſome ſtrictures ſhall be drawn, whereby the principal inſtruments in Great Britain and Ireland in framing this grand plan of deception ſhall be preſented to the public, and the moſt occult parts of their propoſitions expoſed to the naked eye of every Iriſhman, and an account ſtated after the Ruſſian example, ſetting manufacture againſt manufacture.

LETTER VIII.

THE pretended Country Gentleman, who has furniſhed the ſubject for the two laſt letters, is too great a treat to part with until the public have a thorough inveſtigation of his commercial principles and poſitions ſtated, as his arguments ſeem to be the language held forth by Mr. Foſter and many others, but in a leſs exaggerated degree, in their parliamentary debates.

The ſixth and ſeventh letters evidently falſify his fictitious and unjuſt ſtatement of the value of Iriſh linens exported yearly to Great Britain, and alſo the pretended 450,000l. paid by Great Britain yearly, to favour the ſale of Iriſh linens in Britain.

An

An account is here ſtated to ſhew the bad policy and abſurdity of the advocates for Britiſh dominion in Ireland, by endeavouring to wean the Iriſh by their fallacious arguments and threats from their attachment and decided preference in every reſpect in favour of Britain and her manufactures.

In order to avoid any cavils about the year ſtated, the amount given by Lord Sheffield to the public in his obſervations, with all the particulars, beginning page 287, to page 310, ſhall be the groundwork of this account, and no one will doubt of his lordſhip's partiality to Britain.

	l.	s.	d.
His lordſhip ſtates the whole amount of imports from England in the year ending 25th March, 1783, at — —	2,148,785	4	7
Amount of imports from Scotland, as particularized, for the ſame time, —	171,670	14	7
Total imports from England and Scotland, the year ending 25th March, 1783,	2,320,455	19	2
His lordſhip next ſtates the exports of Ireland the ſame year, ending 25th March, 1783, valuing her linens at 16d. per yard, in place of examinator's valuation of 15d. and including all her material of wool, linen, and worſted yarn, raw hides, ſkins, beef, butter, tallow, &c. &c. as particularized, at — —	1,865,392	14	8
And her exports, the ſame year, as particularized, to Scotland, — —	123,897	12	1
Total amount to England and Scotland, in the year ending 25th March, 1783, —	1,989,290	6	9
Thus it is plain, on this ſtatement of Lord Sheffield's, that there is a balance againſt Ireland in his fallacious mode of ſtating the account, of no leſs than —	331,165	12	5

N. B. In this account the linens exported to Great Britain in the year ending 25th March, 1783, were 15,212,968 yards, at 15d. per yard, amounted only to 950,810l. 10s. ſterling, which Lord Sheffield, by over-rating, makes one-fifteenth more, by valuing them at 16d.

The proper mode of ſtatement, according to the example of the Ruſſian account, ſtated in the laſt letter, is as follows, viz.

	l.	s.	d.
Great Britain took from Ireland, in the year ending 25th March, 1783, in linen 15,212,968 yards, highly eſtimated at 15d. per yard, — —	950,810	10	0

And

	l.	s.	d.
And in the ſame year, in the manufactures of beer, bottles, books, bread, candles, cheeſe, coaches, corn of all ſorts, fiſh, glue, horſes, ironmongers ware, meal, ſilk manufacture, ſoap, woodenware, glaſs ware, and ſtarch, in value. —	57,267	0	3
Total amount of Iriſh manufactures exported to Great Britain, taken from the cuſtom-houſe returns, in the year ending 25th March, 1783. — —	1,008,077	10	3
In the ſixth letter, the medium quantity of Iriſh linens that have been imported into Great Britain, to form aſſortments for her export trade on bounty or otherwiſe, and to ſupport her commerce with foreign countries, amounting only to 1,237,827 yards, at 15d. per yard, on a medium of three years, ending 25th March, 1783, ought to be deducted, — —	77364	3	3
Balance to be charged to Ireland in her account with Great Britain, —	930,713	7	0

This is the juſt ſtatement of all Iriſh manufactures of linen or other articles ſent to Britain for their conſumption in the year ending 25th March, 1783, and when the deduction of various articles is made from it, excluſive of linen, and the amount of Britiſh linen manufactures entered or ſmuggled into Ireland for the ſame year, it will nearly agree with the amount ſtated in the ſixth letter for the three years ending 25th March 1783, of a balance remaining in favour of Ireland of no more than 600,000l. on linen manufactures exported to Britain for her own conſumption with the objections thereto as ſtated.

The account between Britain and Ireland has now been put in every point of view it could admit of, and when we deduct the foregoing 930,713l. 7s. the whole amount of Iriſh exports for her conſumption, from her enormous imports in the ſame year into Ireland, being no leſs than 2,320,455l. 19s. 2d. farthing, we find an actual balance to the prejudice of Ireland, in her trade with Britain in that year, of no leſs than 1,389,742l. 12s. 2¼d.

In the whole of our imports from Britain there is no one article, except coals, in which Ireland cannot ſupply herſelf cheaper from foreigners, and entirely in exchange for her own manufactures; and by applying 100,000l. to the ſupply of her own coals, there can be no doubt of defeating the wildeſt purpoſes of malicious invention, if Britain was to withhold her coals from us,

us, as has been the threat of uninformed ſpeakers and ſcribblers on this ſubject.

On viewing this ſtatement, it will not be ſurpriſing that Britiſh councils and Britiſh intereſts ſhould be alarmed at their danger of loſing, in part, ſo good a cuſtomer, by Ireland endeavouring to ſupply her own conſumption: but it is unprecedented in hiſtory to find ſuch a band of writers and ſpeakers conſpiring together within the country by every ſpecies of deception and miſ-ſtatement, in concealing the truth, and boldly advancing ſuch unfounded aſſertions and arguments to impoſe on the credulous, and create doubts in the minds of uninformed country gentlemen. It can only be accounted for by the patronage and diſtribution of all honours, places and penſions reſting in the hands of a foreign adminiſtration, which bring forth thoſe numerous parricides peculiar to this country.

The next part of this pretended country gentleman's arguments and bold aſſertions, in which he has been followed by Mr. Foſter in his ſpeech, with conſiderable additions in ſome parts thereof, are theſe:

2. That we are totally dependant on Britain for bark to continue our tannage.

3. That our proviſion trade depends on Britain's not refuſing her rock ſalt to us.

4. That by impoſing any new duties on her malt and hops, ſhe might annihilate our breweries, theſe being peculiar ſtaple commodities of England.

5. That ſhe could ſtop our workers in tin whenever ſhe thought proper.

6. That ſhe could utterly deſtroy our glaſs manufactories by a duty on coals.

7 and laſtly. That all our infant manufactures muſt periſh, if Britain withheld her coals.

The language of a paraſite is not worth conſideration, but as Mr. Foſter, and other gentlemen high in office, have adopted and boldly aſſerted this doctrine in ſtill ſtronger terms, the following anſwers are offered to the public.

1ſt. This writer's and Mr. Foſter's aſſertions, reſpecting the exaggerated account of our linen exports to Britain, have been fully refuted in this and former letters, except Mr. Foſter's aſſertion, that the Spaniards and Portugueſe have long ſince ſhut their ports againſt us. It is notorious Iriſh linens have never been refuſed by either of thoſe nations, and we are opening a trade for linens, fine or coarſe, plain or printed, with every nation in Europe, as our coſtom-houſe returns fully teſtify.

2. In reſpect to bark for tanning, it is recommended to Mr. Foſter to look into his friend Lord Sheffield's obſervations, page 340, and he will ſee his aſſertion, that we can get no bark except from England, flatly contradicted by the large import thereof

thereof from the eaſt country; and if he will allow himſelf time to make the inquiry, on what terms bark of different ſorts may be imported from Riga, where moſt of the oak for the ſhip building of Europe is procured, and alſo from the northern ſtates of America, in both of which there is a great variety, no demand, and little value put on it, except the freight, which from either places will not exceed the freight from* England ten ſhillings per ton, and the Engliſh bark coſts at leaſt five pounds per ton, beſides all other charges in freight &c. and is paid for in money, he muſt confeſs his aſſertions muſt greatly expoſe him. In the ſame page, Lord Sheffield proceeds thus, "It is obſervable, however, that the impolitic export of hides had greatly decreaſed to the eaſt country."

3. It is devoutly to be wiſhed that our proviſion trade may be checked by ſome means, ſo as more effectually to encourage tillage, population and manufactures; but nothing leſs than profound ignorance could lead this writer, and thoſe ſpeculative pretenders to commercial knowledge, to aſſert that our proviſion trade depended on Engliſh rock-ſalt. Had that been the caſe, there is no doubt but when England, by an act of Parliament, prohibited the importation of our live cattle in 1663, ſhe would have prohibited the export of her rock-ſalt to Ireland, thereby to make a monopoly of the proviſion trade, in addition to her other monopolies where ſhe excluded Ireland. However, the northern countries of Europe, and the northern free ſtates of America, will in a few years ſupplant the proviſion trade of Ireland, and render that ſervice to her that her own Parliament ought to have done, by a heavier duty on the export.

4th. The malt of England ought to have been prohibited to encourage our own tillage, and the ſaving that might be made by taking our hops from Flanders, would be at leaſt 50,000l. yearly, and thereby encourage effectually the uſe of malt drink inſtead of ſpirits, and at the ſame time exchange our manufactures for any hops or other articles we imported from thence.

5. The article of tin imported, is ſuch a trifle, and the ſubſtitutes ſo many, it was not worth mentioning, the whole import being under 10,000l. yearly.

6. When Britain prohibits the export of her coals, our glaſs-houſes muſt be erected in the vicinity of Iriſh collieries, unleſs the navigation is finiſhed.

7. In anſwer to the ſeventh aſſertion, the ſums paid to uſeleſs placemen and penſioners, without looking to abſentees, would ſupply Iriſh coals to every part of Ireland where neceſſary; and

* N. B. All veſſels bringing bark from England are paid for it in money, and return in ballaſt, whereas the American Ships return full freighted with Iriſh manufactures; this enables them to bring bark on lower freight than it can be brought from England.

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it is greatly to be lamented that the experiment of taxing her coals was not tried at the beginning of this century, among the other Britiſh monopolies, as the kingdom would by that means have ſtill continued a better diſtribution of the families of fortune reſident in the country, that have crowded into Dublin, where foreign produce is generally conſumed, and a due execution of the laws, and attention to manufactures, induſtry and ſubordination among the lower ranks of the people, would have been the conſequence.

Having now anſwered all the material arguments of this futile writer, whoſe unfounded aſſertions would not have merited notice where manufactures and commerce were generally underſtood, it is neceſſary to return to the chain of arguments, and point out the induſtry uſed by Mr. Eden, Lord Carliſle, Mr. Pitt, Lord Sheffield, Mr. Orde, Mr. Foſter, &c. in the early ſtages, and throughout the whole of this buſineſs, in order to put the Iriſh on their guard againſt thoſe advocates for Britiſh monopolies and Iriſh depreſſion and ſubjugation.

There is a clue given in the report of the Board of Trade in 1780, as ſtated by Lord Sheffield in his obſervations, beginning at page 71, and in the evidence of William Fawkener, Eſq. one of the clerks of the privy council, before a committee of the houſe of commons, page 88, that when duly conſidered will throw ſome light on this myſterious buſineſs.—Mr. Fawkener, who was privy to all the converſations and examinations before the lords committee of privy council of Britain at the time the firſt propoſitions were digeſted and ſettled in January 1785, ſo as to be offered to the Iriſh parliament, ſums up in a ſentence what purpoſes thoſe propoſitions were intended to defeat in Ireland, in the following ſtrong language.

Meſſ. Walker and Richardſon, manufacturers of Mancheſter, having expreſſed ſome diſſatisfaction reſpecting the evidence they had given before the lords committee of privy council, had a converſation with Mr. Fawkener, "in which he ſeems to think much apprehenſion of danger did not ſeem to exiſt in their minds: This he remembered perfectly, that the laſt thing which paſſed, in that converſation, was his aſking them "whether they did not, on the whole, think that the manufactures of Britain had more to apprehend from non-importation agreements, from protecting duties, and from the high bounties, and the great encouragement which the Iriſh would certainly give their own manufactures, in caſe the propoſitions were rejected, than from the propoſed adjuſtment." This evidence of Mr. Fawkener proves beyond a doubt that the firſt propoſitions were intended to cut off for ever all non-importation ſchemes, protecting duties, and every ſpecies of bounty or encouragement to promote infant manufactures in Ireland, whilſt they ſecured all the material of Ireland to Britain,

tain, without poſſibility of reſtriction. The linen traders of Dublin petitioned in the ſtrongeſt language to obtain a protecting duty on linen yarn exported, to preſerve the linen manufacture of Ireland from ruin. Mr. Foſter gloried in depriving them for ever of calling for ſuch a protecting duty; the opinion of the merchants was not deemed worth conſideration, or examination; the firſt propoſitions were hurried away; the promiſes of the ſelf-appointed agents on the part of Ireland, encouraged the Britiſh manufacturers to aſk all that Ireland had to give or ſurrender, and the twenty propoſitions ſent back for Iriſh approbation, if adopted, muſt prove an eternal ſource of complaint and warfare, if not create an immediate and open breach between the two kingdoms.

The next letter will begin with Lord Carliſle and Mr. Eden's report from the Board of Trade in 1780, aided by ſuch evidence and concurring circumſtances as will fully prove that Ireland muſt have no reliance on negociation or compact with Britain, or ſhe is an undone country.

LETTER IX.

IT is a diſagreeable taſk to find fault with a report of the Board of Trade of Great Britain, when ſuch diſtinguiſhed characters as Lord Carliſle and the Right Honourable William Eden were at the head of it; but where partiality or prejudice mark the greateſt characters, they muſt ſubmit to hear the complaints of an injured country.

Thoſe great men had but juſt returned from America, where they were ſent as the ſelect and ableſt ſtateſmen of Britain, to convince and bring back to their duty that jealous, turbulent, and untractable people; but whether from fears of their ſuperior and matchleſs abilities as Ambaſſadors, or a ſuſpicion of their embaſſy being inimical to the liberties and commerce of the Britiſh empire, is ſubmitted to the reader to make the application. Thus much ſeems certain, that the Free States of America would not even allow them to ſet foot on their liberated ground.

On their return to Britain, we find them at the head of the Board of Trade, in July 1780, when a queſtion of the greateſt commercial magnitude that ever was agitated in the Britiſh Council, was referred to that Board by the Lords of the Committee of Council of Britain, for their opinion.——(See Lord Sheffield's obſervations, from page 71 to page 85).

To report how far the proviſions of * "An act for granting

* See Appendix A. reſpecting this queſtion.

bounties

bounties on the export of linen and hempen manufactures of Ireland, therein enumerated to foreign countries, and for repealing the bounties on flaxſeed imported, and for encouraging the growth thereof in Ireland, might in the proviſions of the ſaid bill affect the linen trade of Britain."

On reading this reference of Iriſh bounties on the ſtaple manufacture of the kingdom, which by compact was totally relinquiſhed to Ireland in 1698 [ſee letter the ſecond] Ireland is now to conſider what juſtice they are to expect in any future commercial adjuſtment or compact. We ſhall now examine the report of that Board of Trade, and compare the preſent Britiſh Reſolutions with the report, and ſuch farther information as has been laid before the public.

The Board of Trade firſt tell us they called for the advice and opinions of ſeveral reſpectable merchants intereſted in the export trade, and in the linen manufactures of Mancheſter and Scotland, as alſo on ſome principal factors concerned in the imports and exports of Iriſh linens, and of other perſons converſant in the extenſive ſubject before them.

It muſt be obvious that every perſon they called to aſſiſt with their advice were the rivals and declared enemies to the Iriſh getting into an export trade to foreign countries, ſupplying her home conſumption, or even increaſing her linen manufacture, as will fully appear by their report, and alſo by the evidence laid before the Committee of Council, and the Lords and Commons of Britain.

In their report they ſtate truly the eſtimated value of the flaxſeed imported yearly into Ireland at about 80,000l.; this is imported almoſt entirely from America; and this is an article of commerce that Britain does not require or import; but as Britain ſaves nearly what ſhe requires in England and exports a conſiderable quantity yearly of flaxſeed of her own ſaving to Ireland, and her imports to renew her ſeed being from the Eaſt Country and Holland, the tendency of her laying any reſtraints on our imports of flaxſeed from the States of America, (as England under the ſixteenth reſolution might pretend to ſupply us,) to favour the linen trade of Britain, and her own colonies of Canada and Nova-Scotia, which are almoſt inacceſſible (being locked up with froſts) in the proper ſeaſon for ſending their flaxſeed to market, if their climate and lands even anſwered the purpoſe of ſupplying us; this muſt appear to the public a daring and fraudulent attack on the linen manufacture of Ireland.

The importation of oak bark from America, and alſo from the Eaſt Country, claſhes with the intereſts and ſchemes of Britain againſt our tanning trade, as by the ſixteenth Britiſh reſolution, and the ſpirit of all the reſolutions, it is intended that all foreign oak bark, flaxſeed, aſhes, timber for ſhip building, &c. imported

into Ireland, by or from the States of America, or ſhips bringing bark or timber, &c. from the Eaſt Country, ſhould pay the Britiſh duty on bark imported into Ireland of 2s. 4-20ths Engliſh money for every 112lb. which foreign bark is ſubject to when imported into Britain; and amounts to about 3s. 4d. Iriſh money per barrel, containing twelve ſtone, and would be a complete prohibition, the beſt bark being worth in England only 4l per ton.

Whoever ſhall examine minutely Mr. Orde's laboured ſpeech on his motion for leave to bring in his bill, (publiſhed by Byrne) with an introduction of only 23 pages, and Mr. Foſter's ſpeech, (ſee Woodfall, page 195) aſſuming ſuch a ſhare of merit on preparing thoſe reſolutions, in doing which he prides himſelf on this bill, evidently prepared for the utter extirpation of all Iriſh manufactures and commerce, will be inclined to join Examinator in opinion, that this bill does not deſerve the title of, "A bill for effectuating the intercourſe and commerce between "Great Britain and Ireland, on permanent and equitable prin-"ciples, for the mutual benefit of both kingdoms," better than two bills that Mr. Foſter had the honour of introducing, with titles equally contrary to their effects, viz.

One was a bill that paſſed into a law, and commenced the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1782, for regulating ſeal maſters of brown and white linens, encouraging the home manufacture of aſhes for bleachers uſe, and other purpoſes therein mentioned. (See linen bill)

In this bill Mr Foſter introduced "An oath to be taken and "ſubſcribed, in the preſence of not leſs than two truſtees of the "linen manufacture, by every perſon appointed to the office of "ſeal-maſter, or lapper of brown and white linens, previous to "his receiving his ſeal or ſtamp, in which, after ſwearing that "he will truly, honeſtly, diligently, and to the beſt of his ſkill "and judgment, execute his ſaid office, (Mr. Foſter added) that "the ſaid ſeal-maſter or lapper, will from time to time obey all "lawful commands and directions given to him by the truſtees "of the linen and hempen manufactures."

The qualmiſh people in the linen trade, who ſtill retained ſome conſcientious ſcruples reſpecting the import of an oath, and alſo doubting in many reſpects the knowledge, and perhaps the integrity or uſe that the taking ſuch an oath might ſubject them to, by orders from ſome of that body (the Linen Board) however reſpectable and well intentioned the preſent truſtees may be, revolted at the idea of ſwearing by the lump to ſuch things as they did not know or underſtand, and as the law took place the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1782, in the hurry of their year's buſineſs, and the penalty was no leſs than five pound for every piece on each perſon buying, ſelling, or entering for exportation, any linens without being legally ſtamped or ſealed, the whole trade, by this means, was put to a total ſtand.

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The wiſdom of the northern merchants and drapers on this occaſion, furniſhes a hint new and proper to be followed on all future occaſions by men of independence and underſtanding, ſo as to keep clear of fooliſh men or miniſters, and teach ſtateſmen a leſſon, that ought never to be out of their view.

They knew it was vain to reaſon with the Linen Board, who had now no more power to diſpenſe with the law than the merchants had. They went to the public markets, and ſtated their ſituation to the manufacturers and weavers, reſpecting Mr. Foſter's linen bill, and unanimouſly reſolved to oblige the truſtees and members of parliament, to lead the country out of the labrynth that Mr. Foſter had brought them into, before they would buy one piece of linen; in conſequence of which, the linen countries were one continued ſcene of tumult and confuſion.

The wretched manufacturers and weavers, incapable of returning to their ſtarving families without the produce of their linen to ſupply their inſtant neceſſities, flew from truſtee to truſtee, and from magiſtrate to magiſtate, to ſue for relief, but all was vain and unproductive; a general meeting of the manufacturers and weavers was held on the 2d or 3d market day, at Armagh, in the centre of a linen country, where they reſolved perſonally to enforce an immediate remedy. When the multitude had reſolved on ſuch a violent meaſure, it is eaſy to ſuppoſe the conſequence.

The truſtees of the linen manufacture and principal nobility and gentry of the country, poſted immediately to Dublin as an aſylum, and alſo to try by ſome expedient to avert the impending ſtorm, and after Council being held on Council, and Linen Board on Linen Board, a ſalvo was reſolved on as illegal as the oath enjoined by the act was unwarrantable—no leſs than a diſpenſation of the law; thus has the venerable protection to the character, reputation and ſecurity of the linen manufacture of Ireland, founded on a law paſſed in 1719, for ſealing our linens when exported, been frittered away, without any truſtee or member of parliament being hardy enough ſince that time to ſtand forth and offer to the public a proper ſcheme to be demanded of ſeal-maſters as a ſecurity to indemnify the exporter and preſerve the reputation of our ſtaple manufacture.

There were ſome other clauſes equally objectionable and arbitrary reſpecting bonds and judgments, &c. and the fate of that act ought to ſatisfy Mr. Orde (who is a ſtranger among us) that acts of parliament muſt have the concurrence of the people ſtampt with conſiſtence, reaſon, and juſtice to obtain a currency in Ireland.

The clauſes reſpecting aſhes and buildings will deſerve notice in a future letter.—The other bill of Mr. Foſter's which attracts Examinator's attention at preſent is, "that bill (he introduced) to ſecure the Liberty of the Preſs." It is believed an intemperate

zeal

zeal had led ſome printers, newſboys and ballad-ſingers, to expreſs their diſlike to certain characters, at the time, rather freely in their prints and ſongs, and in place of correcting the aggreſſors legally, a clauſe to the following effect was introduced in the bill, "That every juſtice of the peace throughout the kingdom, ſhall be empowered to take up and commit to Bridewell for ſix months, any perſon who ſhall be found ſelling, diſperſing, circulating or publiſhing any advertiſment, paragraph, newſpaper, book, pamphlet or publication, which he, the juſtice, ſhould deem a libel." Had ſuch a clauſe paſſed in the bill there can remain no doubt of the freedom of the preſs being thereby at an end; but the committee not thinking ſo favourably of the clauſe, or of truſting ſo much to a juſtice of the peace, rejected the clauſe, and thereby (for the preſent) continued, in part, that palladium of liberty to the people.

It is rather unpleaſant to men graſping at power to meet thoſe rubs and taunts from the people that are uſually their companions in a free ſtate, however men of underſtanding, who poſſeſs juſt notions of liberty, and wiſh to preſerve it, make uſe of ſuch raillery as monitors and lights to guide them on their way, as the people are never led to extremes in Ireland without radical cauſes and the beſt ground to ſupport them.

The glorious ſtand made in Ireland as well as England at the revolution proceeded from the free born ſons of liberty, inſpired by the heavenly zeal of the people.

The noble efforts in Ireland the latter years of Queen Anne's reign, to preſerve the conſtitution, liberty, religion, and properties of the people unimpaired in church and ſtate, were owing to the people.

The attack made on the conſtitution in Lord Carteret's adminiſtration, in 1729, by endeavouring to get the ſupplies voted for twenty-one years, and thereby render the calling parliaments unneceſſary, was defeated by the interference and ſpirited conduct of the people.

The daring invaſion of the conſtitution by Mr. Rigby, then Secretary, in a bill in the late Duke of Bedford's adminiſtration, which propoſed calling parliaments in leſs than forty days on any pretended emergency, was defeated by the ſpirited and proper interference of the people.

The renovation of the conſtitution and commerce of Ireland in 1778, 1780 and 1782, is entirely due to the ſeaſonable and firm interference of the illuſtrious volunteers of Ireland, whereby they eſtabliſhed the juſt rights of their country, at the moment that Britain, under the influence of arbitrary and wicked counſellors, had deſolated the moſt flouriſhing cities of America, to wreſt from the wretched inhabitants, in an illegal and deſpotic manner, tribute, that it muſt now be obvious they never were able to pay.

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The preſent attack on the conſtitution and commerce of Ireland, under the auſpices of Mr. Pitt, is one of thoſe flights that young men, guided by wretched and arbitrary counſellors, are apt to take, but there ſeems to remain virtue enough in the Iriſh Parliament to repreſs this youthful ſally, without any danger or neceſſity of appealing to John Hampden's fourth eſtate, the majeſty of the people.

The ſtale ſtate policy of keeping up a perpetual ferment, warfare and diviſion in this kingdom for a century paſt, by playing off Whig againſt Tory, and Proteſtant againſt Papiſt, ſo as to make dupes of all, and render them more amenable to Britiſh ſubjugation, ſeems to be perfectly underſtood throughout the kingdom.

That ſtate farce of making Ireland the theatre for playing off ſome pretended plot or inſurrection, rebellion or invaſion, every ſeven years, or even in leſs time, was happily done away by the volunteers of Ulſter becoming acquainted with the intereſts and wiſhes of the volunteers of Connaught and Munſter. All the landed and trading intereſts of Ireland of every denomination are united as the children of one houſe, in one common cauſe, to protect their conſtitution and commerce on the preſent occaſion.

It is but juſtice to inform Mr. Pitt of his danger by invading the conſtitution and privileges of a united people with mercenary troops, and if Mr. Orde will but for once communicate the ſentiments of the Iriſh to him, and candidly tell the young miniſter that he cannot find out in the kingdom of Ireland, a city, town or village of note, or any body of merchants or manufacturers that do not reprobate and petition againſt his inſidious, incongruous and incoherent twenty reſolutions and bill, as replete with abſurdity, as they are contradictory to the title of the bill "for "effectuating the intercourſe and commerce between Great "Britain and Ireland, on permanent and equitable principles, "for the mutual benefit of both kingdoms."

LETTER X.

IN Examinator's laſt letter, ſome general obſervations were neceſſary before the report of the Board of Trade could be properly inveſtigated.

In reſpect to ſail-cloth, the bounty given in Ireland may be eſtimated at 12 per cent. which is nearly the ſame as what is given in Britain, (ſee letter the ſecond on ſail-cloth), and alſo in this

this report of the Board of Trade, Lord Carliſle and Mr. Eden have concealed a fact of the greateſt conſequence to be known, that the Iriſh are driven out of the ſail-cloth manufacture by Britain giving a bounty of 12 per cent. on their ſail-cloth exported to Ireland; and at the ſame time, by a moſt unjuſt and arbitray act, charging a duty on Iriſh ſail-cloth, if any bounty is paid at any future time on it in Ireland, tantamount to the bounty, or more, being Engliſh for Iriſh money. This ſpecies of Britiſh reciprocity could not be unknown to Mr. Eden in this report of the Board of Trade, where he had long been a member, which Lord Sheffield ſpeaks of in raptures, "as ably drawn up and conveying much information."

The evidence produced in ſupport of this fatal ſcheme, which deſtroyed the ſail-cloth manufacture of Ireland, as ſtated before a committee of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, and reported the 2d of March, 1749, (ſee Britiſh Commons Journal, vol. 25, Page 1027).

"Philip Eliott, of London, Merchant, ſtates, that he had ſold from 1744 to 1749, about 9482 bolts of Iriſh ſail-cloth, 38 yards to each bolt, which ſold for about 52 ſhillings each bolt; that he ſold it much higher than Engliſh ſail-cloth, becauſe it was eſteemed ſuperior, being equal to Holland's duck, and much the ſtrongeſt, and would wear better from being of better quality. He farther ſtated, that the profit in labour was about two-thirds of the value of the ſail-cloth; and that the navy of England at that time, required 40,000 bolts yearly, about 107,000l. value (no doubt they now uſe as much more yearly); that this trade had been totally poſſeſſed by the Dutch, Germans and Ruſſians;" and it continues to be poſſeſſed by them at this day to all the world, except for the navigation of Britain and Ireland, which market has been monopolized by Britain in conſequence of their unreaſonable act, which Mr. Eden, in this report, has not ſtated to public view, ſo as to expoſe the injuſtice of Britain towards Ireland, in direct contradiction to the compact of 1698, —It is alſo worthy of notice, that at the ſame time there were certificates in favour of Iriſh ſail-cloth tranſmitted to the Lords of the Admiralty from ſeveral of the greateſt naval commanders of Britain.

Where the exiſtence of a navy depends ſo much on the quality of their ſail-cloth, and the Iriſh being proved in quality equal to the Holland's duck, which is to be aſcribed to the ſuperior mode of ſpinning, purging and handling their yarn, it ought to be deemed no compliment (as Mr. Orde and Mr. Foſter would have us believe it is) to allow the Iriſh to make ſail-cloth (the loſs of one firſt or ſecond rate being of more value to the ſtate than 80,000 bolts of canvas (for the whole navy of the empire); and it is with great juſtice believed, the rotten and bad quality of the

Britiſh

Britiſh ſail-cloth was often the cauſe of the loſs of capital ſhips of force in the laſt wars, as it muſt be allowed by all ſea-faring men, that ſhips are no longer manageable or under command when their ſails give way, and obliging each Britiſh or Iriſh ſhip to take a new ſuit of ſails from Britain by an Engliſh act, when they can have of better quality in Ireland, is extreme abſurdity, and in fact conſpiring againſt the vital defence and protection of the ſtate.

In the ſame report (page 76) they ſtate "that the Iriſh linen manufacture has been aided by accumulated duties on the import of foreign linens into Britain, notwithſtanding ſuch duties have operated to the prejudice of the Britiſh woollen trade, by inducing foreign powers to lay reciprocal burdens and reſtrictions on Britiſh woollen manufactures."

By this paragraph of the report, the reader would be induced to believe that accumulated duties had been laid on foreign linens to favour the ſale of Iriſh linens in Britain; but the reverſe will appear to be the caſe: In 1767, when the Britiſh Parliament wanted a productive fund, to cloſe the accounts of the former war, and provide a fund for the remaining debts unprovided for [ſee Commons Journals on ſupply of ways and means, vol. 31, page 313 and 318] they laid a farther duty on ſheetings, drabs, drillings and ravenſduck, and alſo 5 per cent. on duties and cuſtoms enumerated, which affected the linen manufactures of Ruſſia moſtly; but it was alſo done with a view to favour the coarſe woollen manufactures of Britain, as the lower claſs of people had ſubſtituted thoſe drabs and ravenſduck for garments, and the Ruſſia ſheetings in place of Britiſh ſheetings; and there neither appears petition or examination to lead to it, but the ſpontaneous movement of the miniſter of the day. This duty was complained of by the court of Ruſſia to Lord Macartney, the Britiſh ambaſſador at the court of Ruſſia; but they were ſatisfied on his ſhewing them that it was not levelled at them in particular, but extended to all foreign manufactures of that deſcription; and this proves the latter part of the paragraph in the report to be void of foundation. This additional duty on ſheetings, drabs, drillings and ravenſduck, did not prove an effectual protection to the linen or coarſe woollen manufactures of Britain; as, in 1773, all the ſhires of Britain, that were intereſted in the linen manufacture, petitioned parliament, to have farther duties laid on thoſe manufactures, and they were joined in petitions from the woollen manufacturers of of Wiltſhire, Devon, Hants, Somerſetſhire, and ſeveral others, as may be ſeen in the Journals of that day; and in the examination in 1774, at the bar of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, the following evidence appears:

John Hanſell, of Bridport, in Dorſetſhire, ſail-cloth manufacturer, ſtates in his evidence, that the ſale of coarſe woollen

cloath was not then a twentieth part of what it had been for the common people formerly, owing to their ſubſtituting Ruſſia drabs and ravenſduck as garments in place of the coarſe woollens.

Mr. Edmond Harvey ſtates, that the people in the woollen manufacture had a meeting, and had joined thoſe in the linen manufacture in the application to parliament in 1774, as their coarſe woollen manufactures were injured equally with the linen by the interference of the Ruſſia and other coarſe linen manufactures imported as ſubſtitutes for garments. He alſo ſtated that they had 36,000 ſpinners of linen yarn in the four counties of Wilts, Dorſet, Hants and Somerſet, and 8000 looms employed on doulas, bed-ticks and ſheetings; and that their goods in each of thoſe branches were deemed ſuperior to the foreign manufactures, but could not be made at ſo low a price.—Lord Carliſle and Mr. Eden are called on to examine into the facts here ſtated, and anſwer to Ireland how they could bring ſuch a hoſtile and fallacious charge againſt this country wthout any provocation?

The ſuppoſed favour conferred by the Britiſh bounty on Iriſh linens exported from Britain, is anſwered in the ſixth and ſeventh letters, wherein it appears that thoſe bounties were planned as a radical canker planted in the heart of the linen counties of Ireland, to prevent the manufactures from ſpreading in this country, and by giving a bounty that operated in favour of the export of Iriſh linens from Britain over Ireland, and amounted to twelve per cent. on Britiſh linens from 1743 to 1780, and by a decided advantage of 5 one-half to 10 per cent. Iriſh linens, and thereby having at the ſame time obtained for themſelves the command of the Iriſh market for linen yarn, as it appears by the evidence at the bar in 1774, of Edmond Harvey, John Jeans, William Bolton, Thomas Arden and others, that the doulaſs, ſheetings and tickens made in the weſtern counties of Wilts, Dorſet, Hants and Somerſet, are about one half made of home-ſpun yarn, and the other half foreign yarn; and the foreign is generally or all Iriſh yarn.

This proves demonſtrably in addition to the evidence of Lancaſhire and all Britain, how the linen manufacture of Ireland is ſupplanted and deſtroyed by not giving a decided preference to Iriſh manufacturers of their own material over foreigners, as the Iriſh yarn is only charged with 4 per cent. duty on exportation, and a bounty is given by Britain, which to its inhabitants gives an advantage of ſix to ten per cent. on the linens, cheques, &c. made of it when exported from Britain.

This advantage, given to a country opulent, experienced, in poſſeſſion of correſpondence, and univerſal navigation, and poſſeſſed of every ſpecies of manufacture to make up aſſorted cargoes, muſt keep Ireland long in trammels, unleſs a decided advantage is given and preſerved to her over her own material in every branch of manufacture.

It would require a volume on this ſubject of bounties to ſhew the artful fallacy with which the pernicious reſolutions are conceived and hid from public view.

Mr. Orde tells us truly (in page 19 of his exordium) "It is impoſſible to form any judgment of the benefits of this complete ſyſtem, by entering minutely into the detail." Examinator concurs moſt ſincerely with Mr. Orde in that declaration.

And if ſuch a bittter portion muſt be ſwallowed by the Iriſh, the leaſt offenſive or obnoxious mode will certainly be to purſue the line already introduced; to reprobate all examination; allow no Iriſh merchant or manufacturer to poſſeſs experience or judgment to decide on his own buſineſs; collect the ſenſe of the nation by a vote of the Houſe of Commons only; paſs a bill with facility, as the firſt propoſitions paſſed, without giving time to remote towns even to know that it was introduced into the Houſe.—— What has been done may be a line to purſue at the meeting of parliament; but, as it may be neceſſary to keep in view the leſſon taught by the northern drapers reſpecting Mr. Foſter's linen bill, (ſee page 37) conſider well how the edict is to be executed.

In page 81 to 84, the Board of Trade ſtate their ſentiments without reſerve; they tell us "the bounty (applied for by Ireland) tends to interrupt and hazard a great commercial branch of intercourſe between the two countries, which has been highly and reciprocally advantageous; they are convinced too, that this new ſpeculation, ſo far as it ſucceeds, will operate to the diminution of their export trade, to the diminution alſo of the returns for that trade; and conſequently to the prejudice of their navigation, and of the commercial intereſts in general.—They farther ſtate, That, as far as the direct export of linen from Ireland may take place in conſequence of the bounty now propoſed by Ireland, in ſo much will the Britiſh exports be affected; and the detriment reſulting to their general trade from that circumſtance, will be increaſed by the returns for ſuch exports, and by all the collateral conſequences of a proportionable tranſfer of our navigation and general commerce to the ports of Ireland."

The principle laid down in this report, as an axiom to judge of the leading intereſts between the two countries of Britain and Ireland, requires no elucidation; and being held out by ſuch great authorities, who are looked up to as luminaries by which the public are to ſteer, renders the principle at this day, truly alarming and dangerous.

The ſpirit contained in all the examinations of the merchants and manufacturers of Britain, diſplay this principle, and ſhew that thoſe great men have ſucceſsfully diſſeminated this baneful doctrine throughout Britain.

Until Examinator conſidered the tendency of this report, he had ever looked upon the intereſts of Britain and Ireland as the ſame, and conſidered it as a generally received opinion, that the proſperity of Ireland was ſtrengthening the Britiſh empire, and the wonderful exertions of the Iriſh during this century, in ſupport of the Britiſh conſtitution and commerce, through all their wars by ſea and land, with men and money, to the laſt extremity of their abilities, would induce a belief that thoſe refined politicians had, in no ſmall degree, verged towards making as great a breach between Great Britain and Ireland, as had taken place between Britain and the Free States of America.

In page 82 and 83, they have truly ſtated how fallacious it would be for Ireland to rely on Britain as a ſecure market for the future ſale of her linens, and they have humanely pointed out three modes whereby the ſale of Iriſh linens may be in future defeated in Britain, and every one of them are for the particular emolument of Britain, (ſee Sheffield's obſervations) viz.

1ſt. "They ſtate the average duties paid on foreign linens at 15 per cent. (however we know the ſtatement is too high, being only about 10 per cent.) and, ſay they, a ſmall reduction in thoſe duties (in caſe the Iriſh linens are advanced in price in conſequence of this bounty given on their export from Ireland) would enable Britain to ſupply herſelf with linens as cheap as ever, and with advantage to the revenue. It might probably too obtain in return a larger conſumprion of Britiſh woollen manufactures and other goods upon the continent of Europe." This ſtatement is echoed from Lords to Commons, and from merchant to manufacturer throughout Britain, and ſwallowed with avidity by all ranks and degrees of people.

2dly. "That if the Iriſh bounty ſhould tend to raiſe the price of low-priced linen in Ireland (which they are aſſured had already happened in ſome degree) a larger importation of foreign linens would at once take place without any lowering the duties, and would thereby diſenable the Iriſh drapers from making ſuitable aſſortments for the Engliſh market; the conſequence would be, that the import of Iriſh linens in general would be conſiderably diminiſhed, and thoſe concerned in the fine branch of the manufacture would ſuffer in their buſineſs."

Here is a leſſon to be conſidered by every Iriſhman, which proves how ſmall a ſhare of protection the linen manufacture, the deareſt intereſt of Ireland, poſſeſſes in the Britiſh cabinet, and demonſtrates (were proofs neceſſary) how much the finer branch of the manufacture depends on the ſupport of the coarſer in market, and how indiſpenſably neceſſary it is to the ſupport of both, to keep down the price of both, which can only be done by preſerving in our own power the regulation and export of the material of linen yarn.

3dly.

3dly. They ſtate, " That if it ſhould be thought expedient to continue the bounties on Britiſh linens (which does not ſeem to be their wiſh) the demand from the Britiſh manufacturers increaſing much, their produce would alſo increaſe in proportion; for it deſerves remark, that though England carries on her linen trade ſubject to great and irremoveable diſadvantages, ſhe is ſuppoſed at preſent to manufacture more linens than are exported from Ireland, and is therefore in that improved ſtate of the buſineſs, which can furniſh a quick ſupply to any ſudden deficiency of the Iriſh."

If Iriſhmen want ſtronger proofs of the fallacious, wicked and deceitful boon of a future ſale for their linens in Britain, as is now held out by adminiſtration in the ſpeeches of Mr. Orde, Mr. Foſter, &c. they deſerve not the aid of Examinator's pen. But Mr. Orde tells you in his exordium (page 3. Byrne's printing) " that every gentleman ſhould diveſt his mind of every thing he may have heard before on the ſubject." He might have alſo added—to diveſt himſelf of all his ſenſes, ſo as to qualify him to adopt ſuch a crude, wicked farago, as muſt immediately extirpate all manufacture and deſolate Ireland, if not ſhielded by an immediate and ſucceſsful reſiſtance of the bill.

They cloſe this hoſtile report by ſome notice of the cheque manufacture, which Ireland was entitled to as well as to the ſail-cloth manufacture, under the compact of 1698; and the cheque manufacture was unjuſtly wreſted from the Iriſh by a Britiſh act of parliament in 1709, impoſing 30 per cent. ad valorem on Iriſh cheques exported to Britain, or the Britiſh colonies; and in this report they ſtate this trade in 1780 at 120,000l, value yearly to England, although greatly on the decline with them, being transferred moſtly to Germany, Switzerland, and France, in conſequence of their impolitic reſtraints on Ireland, in direct breach of the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of the Lords and Commons of England, [ſee letter the 2d] on the Iriſh relinquiſhing the woollen trade to them.

Mr. Orde, (page 4 of his Exordium, Byrne's printing) tells us, " He cannot find out any thing ſimilar, or to make a compariſon ſimilar to the preſent proceedings on this commercial arrangement." By adverting to the compact of 1698, he will there find in 1697 to 1699 the arguments, evidence, mandates, duplicity, and fraud, practiſed on the Iriſh at that day (and graciouſly intended for them by the preſent propoſitions and bill) the mode of examination, &c. &c. an exact duplicate, and caſe in point; which ought to alarm every Iriſhman, and make him look with ſuſpicion on the propoſers and ſupporters of ſuch inſidious ſnares, offered as a boon to entrap a generous and unſuſpecting people. Ireland wants no compacts, they have been her curſe for this century; ſhe only wants temporary protecting duties for her manufactures

and

and material, to be regulated yearly by the wiſdom of an Iriſh Parliament, on hearing evidence, according to the example and eſtabliſhed cuſtom of Britain, which is clearly pointed out on the preſent occaſion; ſhe wants no protection of her country, having no enemies but ſuch as Britain creates for her, and when hard neceſſity leads her to arms, ſhe has given ſubſtantial proofs that ſhe is able to protect herſelf againſt all hoſtility, and bring powerful aſſiſtance to Britain.

It is preſumed that this report, ſo hoſtile to the commerce and conſtitution of Ireland, was a principal recommendation to Lord Carliſle and Mr. Eden's being ſent immediately to take on them the adminiſtration of Ireland, and bring into a proper ſenſe of their duty and knowledge of paſſive obedience the volunteers, who had at this time begun to aſſume a pretended right, as citizens and volunteers, to judge of the conduct of their repreſentatives in parliament; be that as it may, (happily for Ireland, by a fortunate conjunction of circumſtances) in leſs than five months after this report to Ireland they came.

It muſt be confeſſed, they were very induſtrious to prepare the Iriſh Parliament to coincide with their wiſhes; they triumphed in their majorities. The repeal of a perpetual unconſtitutional mutiny bill; a modification of Poyning's law; the rights of the nation, were only made the jeſts of the day. But as the poet ſays,

> He that mounts him on the ſwifteſt ſteed,
> Shall ſooneſt bring his courſer to a ſtand.

Lord Carliſle and Mr. Eden had given ſo complete a ſpecimen of their ideas of government, and had trained ſo ſtaunch a pack of mercenaries to attend to their nod, that the ſouthern battalion of Lord Charlemont's regiment, on the 28th of December 1781, alarmed at their proceedings, ſummoned a general meeting of delegates, from the volunteers of Ulſter, to be held on the 15th of February 1782, at Dungannon, before the ſeſſion could be much farther advanced.

The voice of that illuſtrious meeting reached the throne; the miniſter of England was diſgraced, and with him the arbitrary chief governor of Ireland. There is a ſacred deſtiny attends ſuch men, who by their precipitancy bring at once to maturity events, which under temporiſing ſlow incendiaries, might have ſtill continued Ireland in trammels. View the conſequence.

On the 14th of April, 1782, the Duke of Portland arrived with the olive branch, to tell the Iriſh their King had heard their complaints, and reſolved that they ſhould be free. The heavenly ſound of this gracious meſſage from their Sovereign reſounded from ſhore to ſhore, like the ſhouts and acclamations of the Greeks when the Roman lieutenant, by command of the ſenate, proclaimed their freedom by a herald at the Olympic Games. Hiſtory ſeems to furniſh no other inſtance of equal magnanimity.

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In this happy ſituation Ireland had continued but two years, ſpreading her untried canvas to catch every gale that might waft new branches of commerce to her ſhores, before ſhe experienced that her old inveterate enemies had wormed themſelves into the councils of the new miniſter, determined to embroil the two kingdoms by new meaſures, or bring him into diſgrace. It is the poſt of Iriſhmen to look down on their threats, their councils, their agencies, their journies between the two capitals, their unneceſſary adjournments, late ſittings, previous queſtions, &c. &c. with contempt; every Iriſhman muſt ſee the whole of their propoſitions, modifications, reſolutions, bills, councils, examinationsin council, and of Lords and Commons, are the pitiful production of a party, ſupported by a junto, as inimical to Ireland as they are impotent, whilſt a virtuous Houſe of Commons preſides in this kingdom.

Having placed this envious and unfounded report before the public, the next letter ſhall depict ſome of the neceſſary qualifications of a Financier, with examples adduced from France, England, &c. ſhewing, that on the wiſdom of a Board of Trade, and the integrity and judgment of a Financier, the proſperity of a nation moſt eſſentially depends.

LETTER XI.

FROM the laſt letter, ſome account of the neceſſary qualifications of a Financier, and the operation that taxes properly applied have in a ſtate, may be expected; and as this ſubject has engaged the attention of the greateſt men in all ages, it deſerves particular conſideration at the preſent criſis in Ireland.

It is not doing juſtice to a country, for any man to aſſume the place or character of a Financier, without conſulting the great maſters who have preceded, and left inſtructive leſſons on this ſubject, adduced from long experience, obſervation, and many of them from practice.

The State muſt neceſſarily be always ſupplied with taxes, which ought to vary according to the exigencies of peace or war; and there are many eſtabliſhed maxims, which if conſidered and ſtrictly adhered to in taxation, ſupply the demands of government, and at the ſame time miniſter to the general employment and advantage of the people; and conſequently ſuch taxes will meet the approbation of all wiſe men.

The greateſt maſters, whoſe extant writings ſeem to have led the civilized nations of Europe for the laſt two or three centuries,

turies, have laid it down as an anxiom, that in proportion to the number of inhabitants, the quality of the ſoil, and the ſituation and temperature of the climate, the poſſibility of raiſing a ſtate to a greater or leſs degree of ſtrength and opulence may be accompliſhed by a Financier.

The rage that pervaded Europe for migration, to make ſettlements in the new world, both to the eaſt and weſt, for two centuries, called forth the pens of many able writers, among whom no one ſeems to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf with more forcible arguments than Sir Robert Cotton, about the time of the protectorate of Cromwell (ſee Harleian Miſcellany, vol. 1. p. 282 and 283) who demonſtrates, "That maintaining foreign acquiſitions has ever been chargeable, prejudical, and oppreſſive to the people of England; that Spain was undone by the great number of people ſent thence to the Weſt Indies, which had depopulated the country, France reaping more benefit by keeping her people at home to manufactures, than Spain doth by ſending hers abroad for gold and ſilver." This author takes notice farther, "That from theſe, and many other reaſons which he adduces, Spain had greatly diminiſhed her conſequence among the powers of Europe."

He then ſtates, "That the province of Holland, which contains but 400,000 acres of profitable ground, equal to 250,000 acres of Iriſh meaſure, by the benefit of trade and manufacture, and by good management, had been able to maintain a war againſt England, Ireland, and Scotland, with Cromwell their leader; and that, at the concluſion of the war, their credit was ſo high, they could command what money they pleaſed at three per cent. per annum." He alſo ſtates, "that the province of Holland did bear four-fifths of the whole expence of the war, for one-fifth that the other ſix provinces did bear."

The inhabitants of the Seven United Provinces are computed to between three and four millions of people; it is worth notice to obſerve, that the province of Munſter in Ireland, contains ſix times as many profitable acres as Holland is here repreſented to contain, ſituated in a far ſuperior climate, with ports and havens not only ſuperior to Holland, but equal to any in the known world, and by Britiſh monopolies it has been deſolated, and, compared with Holland, laid waſte.

This author recommends to the Engliſh, "to leave to other nations the projects of landed acquiſitions on the continent of Europe, and alſo the peopling of foreign nations, and planting colonies with her ſubjects, whereby ſhe will avoid the neceſſity of erecting ſtrong garriſons, and maintaining at vaſt expence foreign frontier towns, but to attend to her navy as a defence."

And 1ſt. "To attend to the improving of her own land, of which ſhe has more than ſhe has people to manage.

2dly.

2dly. " To the increaſing her home and foreign trades, for which ſhe hath natural advantages above any other nation.

And, laſtly, " By her ſtrength, which trade will increaſe to make uſe of it, together with the helps that nature hath given her in ſituation and otherwiſe, in preſerving a balance amongſt her neighbours; for if Holland on ſuch a ſpot, has been able to make ſuch a ſtand, what may ſhe not be able to accompliſh by the benefits of trade and manufactures, conſidering her ſuperior advantages!"

This writer ſtates farther, " That when Cromwell turned out the long parliament, the kingdom was arrived at the higheſt pitch of trade, wealth and honour, that it in any age ever had known; that the trade appeared by the great ſum offered then for the cuſtoms and exciſe, 900,000l. a year being refuſed. The wealth of the nation ſhewed itſelf in the high value that land and all native commodities bore, which are the certain marks of opulency; and that their honour was made known to all the world, by a conquering navy."

As the above ſtatement is given of England about 130 years ago, and at a time that the inhabitants of England and Wales were eſtimated to about ſeven millions, as will appear fully hereafter, it may be worthy conſideration to compare with it the preſent ſtate of Ireland, where a wretched people, not conſiſting of more than three millions, including young and old, rich and poor, are taxed to the enormous ſum as ſtated in the laſt year's account, viz.

Hereditary revenue	659,826	4	8
Additional duties	382,352	11	11
Stamp duties	34,580	1	2
*Additional duties for the inſidious promiſed free trade	140,000	0	0
	1,216,758	17	9

After making all neceſſary allowances for drawbacks, premiums and neceſſary ſalaries, there will remain a charge of between ſeven and eight ſhillings per head on the inhabitants, excluſive of county taxes and ceſſes, appropriated taxes in cities and towns, &c. &c. a load intolerable and oppreſſive in ſo poor and diſtreſſed a country.

This at leaſt proves, if we are two centuries behind England (as it is ſaid) in trade and manufactures, we are two centuries before her in multiplying taxes; if there are any accounts to be rendered hereafter by thoſe financiers, the execrations of a wretched people will be brought in judgment againſt the one, whilſt the other receives the higheſt plaudits from a writer, who, in many other reſpects, appears a bitter enemy to the leaders of that day.

* Some ſay they will amount to 300,000l. yearly.

The next authority Examinator will refer to is Sir William Temple, whoſe opinions have ever been in high eſtimation in the political and commercial world. He had reſided many years in Holland in a public character, previous to his coming with the Earl of Eſſex to Ireland in 1673, and Holland was in thoſe days conſidered as the great ſchool for acquiring commercial knowledge.

Sir William Temple, in his Eſſay on the Advancement of Trade in Ireland, firſt premiſes, "that the true and natural ground of trade and riches is, numbers of people in proportion to the compaſs of ground they inhabit, which makes all things neceſſary to life dear, and thereby forces men to induſtry and parſimony; that the want of trade in Ireland proceeds from the want of people, and that not owing to any bad qualities of the climate, but chiefly to the revolutions, wars and great ſlaughters and calamities of mankind, that had ſucceeded each other until the year 1655, and two great plagues that had followed the great wars, viz. that in Queen Elizabeth's time, and the laſt in 1665 which helped to drain the country of its inhabitants."

By turning back to Moryſon's account of Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth, we find it "ſo thinly peopled that the cattle were ſlaughtered in the interior parts of the kingdom merely for the hides and tallow," as is the practice at this day in the interior parts of Ruſſia, the Brazils, and in many parts of the Continent and Iſlands in the Eaſt Indies. This leads to an obſervation that will come properly under this head, that no dependance is to be had on the proviſion trade as a future ſecurity to pay rents in Ireland, as improvements are daily making in the knowledge of curing all ſorts of proviſions for garriſons and long voyages, and it is ſaid the French ſubſtituted pork in place of beef to great advantage in the laſt war, as more acceptable to the ſailors when dreſſed with fiſh or peas, which gentlemen in that line can beſt decide on; and it is alſo believed that a much leſs proportion of beef had been diſtributed in the Britiſh men of war than formerly, pork being preferred.

Sir William Temple ſtates very forcibly in this Eſſay the neceſſity of an abſentee tax, to preſerve Ireland from ruin, and juſtly obſerves, "that the great ſtock of rich native commodities can with difficulty ſupport the drain of caſh that abſentees cauſe on the country, which deprived Ireland at that time of the neceſſary ſtock to carry on trade or manufactures." Let the unprejudiced reader apply Sir William Temple's arguments to the ſtate of Ireland at this day, and ſee how forcibly he controverts every repreſentation and idea of our modern financiers.

The preſent condition of Ireland (except in the few linen counties of Ulſter) urges in ſtill ſtronger language the neceſſity of an abſentee tax to enforce reſidence of the landed gentlemen in their reſpective

reſpective counties; it is by the want of that protection, which alone could give vigour to the laws, ſupport magiſtracy, and command obedience in the lower orders of the people, that a general diſcredit is thrown on the greater part of Ireland: murders, rapes, riots and robberies are increaſing to an alarming degree; the collection of rents or debts is become ſo expenſive and precarious, that the purchaſe of lands has fallen far below their intrinſic value, and the trader dares not riſque his property in the country.

Another reaſon which Sir William Temple ſtates, as a cauſe of the general ſcarcity of money in Ireland at that day, "that by the act againſt the tranſportation of live cattle into England from Ireland, which had taken place by Engliſh acts of parliament, the 15th, 18th, 20th and afterwards the 32d of Charles II. whereby the importation into England of great cattle, ſheep, ſwine, beef, pork, mutton or lambs for ſale, was deemed a public nuiſance.

"This ſevere law put an entire ſtop to the trade of Ireland, which had run wholly thither before, and England being at the time engaged in a war with the Dutch, whoſe privateers were in great numbers about the Iriſh coaſts, and had even cut moſt of the ſhips out of the port of Dublin and elſewhere in Ireland, whereby the Iriſh were deprived of the means of tranſporting their proviſions to foreign countries, there being then no vent for any of their commodities in England, except wool." The Iriſh were thereby induced and even compelled to grant the perpetual ſupply or ſubſidy, under the title of Tonnage and Poundage, "to enable England to provide frigates and ſhips of war, for the expreſs purpoſe of better guarding the ſeas, and protection of the Iriſh trade," (the words of the act which commenced the 1ſt of December, 1661, are, for the better defending and guarding the ſeas againſt all perſons intending, or that may intend the diſturbance of the intercourſe of trade of this realm, and for the better defraying the neceſſary expences thereof.) The ſubſidy appropriated for this particular uſe, will be found to produce nearly two thirds of the ſum known under the title of Hereditary Revenue.

With what degree of reaſon or juſtice can the financiers of Ireland call on the people at this day to contribute farther to the ſupport of the Britiſh navy, and more eſpecially when ſo improper a uſe has been made of that fund by leaving the Iriſh trade unprotected on all occaſions, except ſome little attention ſhewn during the laſt war. Mr. Orde and Mr. Foſter are called on to look into this hiſtory, and thoſe ſtatutes, and they will meet with much information which they ſeem to wiſh the Iriſh ſhould totally overlook at this day.

Sir William Temple ſtates "that wool, butter, beef, cattle, fiſh and iron, were then the native commodities of Ireland, and

obſerves, that on the improvement of theſe either in the quantity, credit, or further manufacture, the trade of Ireland ſeems chiefly to be advanced, ſo as to furniſh the ſtock of foreign commodities conſumed in the country, and alſo the current caſh."

It is worthy notice, linen yarn, hides and tallow are not here enumerated, the act of the 13th of Elizabeth prohibiting the exportation of linen yarn and flax, under a penalty of 12d. per pound, and 8d. per pound more for the uſe of the city or town exported from: this prohibitory act not being repealed until the 16th of Charles I. ſeventy years after, appears to have been the means of throwing the Iriſh totally out of the linen manufacture, and it appears in an act the 33d of Henry VIII. made againſt merchants foreſtalling, that linen and linen yarn were then the moſt conſiderable manufactures and export trade among the natives of Ireland.

It appears alſo by Fynes Moryſon's hiſtory, that this branch, then valued to 80,000l. yearly, was the principal fund that ſupported O'Neal, Earl of Tyrone, in the war he maintained againſt Queen Elizabeth, which was the cauſe of her prohibition of the export of linen yarn and flax, the 13th of her reign.

Sir William Temple obſerves further, "that Ireland was fully ſtocked with ſheep, the conſiderable flocks of Engliſh breed, and the ſtaple of wool generally equal with Northampton and Leiceſterſhire, and the ſoil of Ireland little ſubjected to rots. He recommends that the woollen manufacture may be encouraged ſo far as to ſupply fully the ordinary conſumption of the kingdom, and for exportation to avoid as far as may be interfering with England; and in this line he enumerates ſummer ſtuffs, Iriſh frize, and middling priced cloths, from ſix to fourteen ſhillings per yard; and ſtates as the moſt neceſſary object for both kingdoms to provide againſt the wool of either being ſmuggled or exported to foreign countries, whereby the decay, if not the deſtruction of the manufacture may be the conſequence in both kingdoms."

This great ſtateſman, whoſe wiſdom, experience and intergity, would have placed both kingdoms in a far ſuperior point of view in the ſcale of Europe, had his advice been ſtrictly attended to, proceeds to recommend "the renewal of the linen and ſail-cloth manufactures in Ireland," which has been already treated of; and ſo conſcious was he of the want of a commercial knowledge among the nobility and gentry of Ireland, that "he recommended (if the King ſhould give leave) to the merchants in eight or ten of the chief trading ports of Ireland, to name for each town one of their number, out of which the Lord Lieutenant ſhould chuſe two to be of the Privy Council of Ireland, with a certain ſalary from the King to defray their attendance. He obſerved that this would introduce an intereſt of trade into the council, which ſeems to be left without patrons in the government, and thereby without

without favour to the particular concernments of a chief member in the political body, upon whoſe proſpering the wealth of the whole kingdom ſeems chiefly to depend."

There are various other ſchemes propoſed by this great man for the improvement of Ireland, too copious to treat of in a letter; and this ſpecimen is given to ſhew the neceſſity of uniting integrity with wiſdom in a Financier, and that he ought to be perfectly acquainted with the productions and circumſtances of the whole kingdom before he ſhould give an opinion.—How far any of our modern financiers are intitled to be ranked with Sir William Temple, is ſubmitted to the conſideration of the impartial reader.

LETTER XII.

THE laſt letter ſtated ſome of the opinions of Sir Robert Cotton and Sir William Temple, reſpecting the trade and intereſts of England and Ireland. An aſſociation of noblemen and gentlemen having ſucceſsfully oppoſed a ſcheme attempted by a wicked and bribed miniſtry, the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, to ruin the trade of England, by reſtoring the conſumption of the manufactures of France, in allowing the importation of her wrought ſilks, linen, paper, &c. &c. which was only defeated by a majority of nine againſt the court and French intereſt in the Houſe of Commons.

The patrons moſt active on this occaſion were the then Earls of Halifax and Stanhope, the merchants were Henry Martin, Eſq; afterwards appointed inſpector general of the exports and imports, Sir Charles Cooke, afterwards made a lord commiſſioner of trade and plantations, Sir Theodore Janſſen, Bart. James Milner, Eſq; Nathaniel Toriano, Joſhua Gee, Chriſtopher Haynes and others.

As the caſe between France and Britain at that day, and between Ireland and Britain at the preſent time, are exactly ſimilar; ſtating ſome of the maxims and arguments adduced in ſupport of the landed and trading intereſt of Britain, in oppoſition to the French trade, will apply to Ireland in the preſent caſe, as forcibly as it did to Britain on the former occaſion.

Thoſe advocates on the part of Britain ſtated, as incontrovertible maxims, "that if a treaty of commerce be likely to add to the capital ſtock; if it ſhall add to the rents of the landed gentlemen; if it ſhall increaſe the employment and ſubſiſtence of the poor; it muſt needs be beneficial." On the contrary, "if it do not make the cuſtoms and duties reſpecting manufactures and material reciprocal in both countries; if it diminiſhes the gold and ſilver; if it ſhall prove a means of introducing the product of foreign

foreign countries to interfere with our own; if it ſhall leſſen the demand of our own manufactures at our own or foreign markets, and bring our own manufacturers to beggary or migration; every man is able to determine, that a treaty which ſhall do any of theſe things is deſtructive to the kingdom."

They next ſtate, "that to preſerve the beſt markets for the product and manufactures of their own native country, is the only way to preſerve their commerce; and they ſtate, "the firſt and beſt market of England to be the natives and inhabitants, which they compute at ſeven millions of people; and that great and ſmall, rich and poor, one with another, they were not lodged, fed and clothed for leſs than 7l. per head; ſo that the expence or conſumption of the whole people amounted to 49 or 50 millions of pounds ſterling per annum; that this whole ſum was paid for the product and manufactures of Great Britain, except only ſo much as was paid for foreign conſumption and for the lodging of the people." They ſtate, "that their whole importation did not then exceed five millions ſterling per annum; that great quantities of thoſe goods imported were re-exported, and there was not the leaſt reaſon to believe that their whole foreign conſumption could then amount to four millions ſterling annually. They next ſtate, "that the whole people are lodged at about 10s. per head, and conſequently that the whole houſe rents of England might be fairly eſtimated, for ſeven millions of people, at three millions and a half yearly, and conſequently, allowing ſeven millions and a half yearly for lodging and foreign conſumption, above forty two of the fifty millions expence of their ſeven millions of people was paid for the product and manufactures of their native country; and that their own people were a conſtant and certain market for their own product and manufacture."

They next ſtate, "that it is the conſumer who pays the landlord's rent, the weaver's wages, the price of the wool or material, and the attending profits; and that every perſon in the kingdom is to be conſidered as a tenant to the lands, and a paymaſter of the labourers, for what he eats, drinks and wears; and that if ſeven millions of people conſume yearly 42,000,000l. value of native product and manufacture, every one at a medium pays 6l. to the lands and labour of the kingdom, and is ſo far a market of ſuch value to his country."

They next ſtate, "that at that day all their exportations to foreign countries, both of home and foreign goods and merchandiſe, did not amount to ſeven millions, and conſequently did not amount to one ſixth part the value of their home conſumption."

They farther ſtate, "that the value of all foreign goods they buy, and eſpecially ſuch as interfere with the conſumption of their

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own manufactures, and all foreign material, are a farther deduction to be made from their foreign exports."

Theſe were the arguments that ſupported the merchants and manufacturers in the Britiſh Parliament in 1713, over all the bribery and machinations that prevailed at that time in the Britiſh councils to the prejudice of their country, and diſgraced the latter years of Queen Anne's reign. The eſtimates and arguments apply directly to Ireland at this day, ſtating the whole for three millions of inhabitants.

They next ſtate, "that the ſecond conſideration to that of confining the Engliſh people to Engliſh product and manufactures, is that of confining them to England; ſince, in proportion to the numbers that emigrate, they abate ſo much of the 42 millions then paid to the rents of lands and the labour of the people."

They farther ſtate, "that 100,000 of the inhabitants of Holland at that day were natives, or the deſcendants of the natives of England, who had fled thither for eaſe or employment, that they wanted in their own country, whereby England had loſt 650,000l. yearly in the value of their conſumption and rents, which Holland had acquired, and much more by their manufacturers."

The landed intereſt and financiers of Ireland are called on to conſider theſe arguments, that were ſo forcible in England as to overturn the wicked ſchemes that then pervaded the Britiſh councils, and eſtabliſhed a foundation for thoſe extenſive manufactures in Britain that are at this day her ſtrength and ſupport, and the envy and admiration of all foreign nations. The arguments are ſimple and unanſwerable, and point out clearly to Ireland what her parliament has to look to, her home conſumption, and the employment of her people to prevent migrations. Ireland poſſeſſes the materials, the lands, the climate and every deſireable advantage to make a great and happy people, if ſhe applies taxation ſo as to give the people full advantage of ſupplying her conſumption with her own material; and, above all, to reprobate ſuch counſellors or financiers as would open our home conſumption to any foreign manufactures that may be made, even though greatly inferior in quality in Ireland.

The example and ſucceſs of Great Britain ſupplicates in ſtronger terms for the wretched Iriſh, than the powers of language or oratory can ſupply.

LETTER XIII.

IN the laſt two letters, ſome of the greateſt authorities and opinions that are extant on the trade, population and intereſts of the Britiſh

Britiſh empire, have been partly ſtated: but as the advocates for Iriſh ſubjugation and Engliſh monopoly are very buſy, and aſſiſted by the powerful aid of a Britiſh council to ſupport them, every argument that can ſtrengthen the landed and trading intereſt to withſtand them, ought to be adduced in ſupport of Ireland.

Lord Chancellor Bacon's exalted character of merchants and traders in a ſtate, deſerves particular notice. He ſays "that by their commerce the riches of the moſt diſtant countries are brought into a ſtate; that trade is a mine, that affords the more, the more it is wrought; and is never to be exhauſted; and that merchants and traders are in a ſtate, what the blood is in the body." They give circulation, life and ſtrength to the whole frame; and, it is demonſtrated in the ſame writing, that all nations, ancient and modern, have been powerful in proportion to their application to commerce.

The next authority Examinator ſhall ſubmit to the landed intereſt of Ireland, is an obſervation of Count Roncellen, in the uſeful picture given of his improvements in Denmark (ſee Marſhall's Travels, vol. 2. page 101). The Count ſtates, "that he had obſerved it in England, France and Holland, the value of land, that is the income of it, depends exactly on the neighbourhood of manufactures; for land no where lets ſo well as cloſe to great cities; and what they wanted in Denmark was a market. They had ſeveral edicts in favour of agriculture, but giving a market for their products would be better than a thouſand edicts: With theſe ideas it was that he had been ſo ſolicitous to increaſe the number of people on his eſtate, and to add to their conſumption, being under the conviction, that if he could fix an induſtrious colony of manufacturers on it, he ſhould of courſe improve the agriculture of it."

Examinator has viewed every county in Ireland with attention, and now appeals to the landed intereſt of 25 counties out of the 32, and they muſt confeſs that they feel the want of inhabitants more or leſs, to give ſtrength and vigour to their country, and conſumption and value to their lands. The ſeven excepted counties are, the counties of Dublin and Armagh, Down, Antrim, Derry, Tyrone and Monaghan in Ulſter, and a great part is waſte even of Tyrone and Monaghan.

If thoſe twenty-five counties were filled with manufacturers, as the ſix counties referred to in Ulſter are, Ireland would not ſo ſenſibly feel the drain of her treaſure by abſentees, and a ſufficient number would be found of conſideration and diſcretion in each county to entruſt with the magiſtracy, which is not now the caſe; as in many parts of the kingdom, here alluded to, the country is ſo waſted for dairy, rearing, feeding ground and ſheep walk, that the traveller may paſs 40, nay 100 miles, without meeting a

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man of education and diſcretion fit to be entruſted with the commiſſion of the peace.

This deſolated and unprotected ſituation of the provinces of Leinſter, Munſter and Connaught, where the remains of the wretched inhabitants, like ſo many ſavages, are moſtly driven into the bogs and mountains, to make room for horned cattle and ſheep, to gratify the inſatiable demands of Britiſh monopoliſts, is the great cauſe why thoſe lawleſs nocturnal riſings ſtill prevail in them, and gives riſe to the many rapes, murders and robberies, which render both life and property precarious, brings an odium juſtly on the country, lowers the price and purchaſe of lands, debilitates the kingdom from aiding the empire ſufficiently in the time of war, and continues among the lower claſs of inhabitants that ſavage ſpirit which characteriſes them from the inhabitants in the induſtrious employed counties of Ulſter.

Had Ireland been ſo fortunate, during this century, as to have had financiers that had even travelled into the civilized parts of the world, with a deſire to acquire the knowledge of ſtateſmen, ſhe would have benefited effectually thereby, as they would have returned fully perſuaded that manufactures and commerce are the only means by which a free people can acquire civilization and due ſubordination; and that multiplying laws, without having proper perſons appointed and well ſupported in the execution of them, is too often placing the wolf in ſheep's clothing, and helps to render the lower claſs ſtill leſs amenable thereto.

An eſtabliſhment in each county of peace officers, choſen from each barony by the magiſtrates, to attend their ſummonſes and execute their orders, to be removed without poſſibility of being reſtored, on the well-founded complaint of any one magiſtrate (ſuppoſe the number appointed to be proportioned to the number of acres in each county, and the tax for their pay to be levied like bridge money off the whole county; they might alſo be obliged to attend the orders of revenue officers, and perhaps by that means, ſave the civil eſtabliſhment the full amount of their ſalary, which, it is believed, would not exceed 10l. each for able and proper men). In ſome counties 20 or more might be neceſſary, whilſt in others four or ſix might be ſufficient. Dublin has, in ſome meaſure, ſet the example to the kingdom.

It might be of great conſequence to the kingdom, and aſſiſt the Lord Chancellor in appointing magiſtrates, to give a commiſſion, ſuppoſe to the circuit judges, to ſpend a day or two in each county yearly, to examine into the qualifications of the preſent magiſtrates, and all ſuch as are hereafter recommended, and not to decide by the quantum of their property, but the knowledge, ability and character they poſſeſſed to diſcharge the truſt with propriety and juſtice.

The mode now practiſed of determining the qualifications of magiſtrates, by aſcertaining their income, is as uncertain as the mode a late Emperor of Germany took to decide on thoſe fitting for his council, and the principal offices in moſt departments; their qualifications being aſcertained by the quantum they were able to drink. Peter the Great, Czar of Muſcovy, though a great toper, appears to have acted on much wiſer principles than the Germans or Iriſh in this reſpect; he judged from the experience and information he had acquired in England, Holland and elſewhere, that confidence was not to be placed in foreign counſellors or directors, in any department; and on his return home, he is repreſented to have ſelected out of the moſt promiſing young men in his dominions a conſiderable number, which he diſperſed through all the courts of Europe, and maintained them at the public expence, enjoining to each to acquire a knowledge of the languages, take notes of all tranſactions in court or country, and correſpond with a council the beſt he could at the time form for the purpoſe in Ruſſia.

The ſtory is recent in the memory of many, and related in the hiſtory of his life. The expedient anſwered his moſt ſanguine expectations. It is ſaid the famous General Romanzow was one of thoſe children of the ſtate; and whoever ſhall examine the politics of the Ruſſian court of late years, will learn, that they are not inferior to any court of Europe for wiſdom and a love of their country. The policy of the Iriſh has become proverbially different, and verifies the old adage, that no one ſhall ever become a prophet in his own country. The Scotch think otherwiſe, and that wiſe people are ſaid not to allow any place of profit or truſt to be confided except to natives in their country, whereby their laws are well executed, and trade and manufactures promoted (conſidering the circumſtances of their ſoil and climate) much ſuperior to any part of Europe.

The immortal Colbert, in his Political Teſtament preſented to Louis XIV, addreſſes his ſovereign thus: "As it is impoſſible that a Comptroller of the Finances can, of himſelf, find out all the ways and means to raiſe taxes with eaſe and advantage to the ſubject, he ought to keep faith with thoſe who aſſiſt him. Every perſon who furniſhed me with any hints which were of ſervice to your Majeſty's affairs hath been recompenſed without diſtinction of perſons. This is the way to quicken and encourage men of underſtanding, and then the miniſter hath nothing to do, but to conſider what is good or bad in the ſchemes laid before him. To diſguſt thoſe perſons is the ready way to deſtroy your Majeſty's affairs; for I would fain know, what a miniſter could perform if he alone were to gueſs at what is to be done in a ſtate, &c." The humility that appears in this great man, who laid the foundation of the French manufactures and commerce, and in his own time

time raiſed ſo powerful a navy for France as to diſpute the dominion of the ſea even with Britain, ought to make our modern financiers bluſh.

We ſhall next ſtate the progreſs of our Iriſh Financiers.

LETTER XIV.

FROM the opinions and authorities ſtated in the three preceding letters, the following corollaries may be deduced:

1ſt, That the ſtrength and wealth of a country depend preciſely on the number of uſeful inhabitants contained therein.

Secondly, That the only means of retaining inhabitants in a country, is by employing them in agriculture, manufactures, fiſheries and commerce.

Thirdly, That the greateſt misfortune that can befal a country, is to loſe her inhabitants by migration, poverty, war, famine, or entering on any ſchemes deſtructive to the human ſpecies.

It is ſaid, "the knave that burned the Epheſian dome, acquired by far more fame, than the pious fool who reared it," and from the meaſures purſued in Britain and Ireland, but particularly in the latter of late years, they ſeem rather in queſt of fame than advantage to the empire, as their ſchemes appear to be levelled by our young Financiers at the deareſt intereſts of both kingdoms, by endeavouring at once to hurl to deſtruction a great fabric, that has been the work of ages to bring it to its preſent ſtate of perfection.

In what other light can the proceedings of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Foſter, with their aſſociates, be conſidered? They have attempted to pluck up by the roots the conſtitution of Ireland, in authoriſing Britain to legiſlate for her. They have endeavoured to extirpate all trade and manufacture in Ireland, and baniſh her inhabitants, by eſtabliſhing in Britain (an opulent and highly improved country in manufactures) a monopoly, and power of commanding all the materials of Ireland, either of linen or woollen yarn, wool, hides, tallow, ſkins, horns, &c. &c. duty free, without allowing Ireland to participate in a ſingle article of the material of Britain; to uſe the word reciprocity in ſuch a law, is adding inſult to injuſtice and injury.

When the linen traders of Dublin petitioned Parliament againſt the eleven Propoſitions (which were as injurious and hoſtile to the commerce of Ireland as the amended twenty) praying to have a protecting duty laid on the linen yarn exported (the

material of their ſtaple manufacture): 'No, ſays Mr. Foſter, 'I glory in having an opportunity of depriving them for ever of looking for ſuch a protecting duty,' or to that effect. Fortunately, by the young miniſter of Britain overloading the cart with his conſtitutional additions and countervailing duties, the landed and trading intereſt of Ireland have obtained once more an opportunity of conſidering the ſubject, and deciding according to its merits.

It requires no arguments to prove that an increaſe of trade enables a country to raiſe greater taxes, and that a rich country can bear taxation that may be oppreſſive in a poor country. Mr. Pitt, however, has attempted to ſubvert the printing, and other great objects of commerce, by exceſſive taxes on the cotton and printing buſineſs, the ſhop tax, pedlars, &c. &c.

Neceſſity and inexperience, in ſome meaſure, plead in the young miniſter's behalf in Britain: but who ſhall ſtand forth and vindicate Mr. Foſter's ſelf-ſufficiency, in having wantonly, and without neceſſity, ſubjected Ireland to thoſe numerous and oppreſſive acts and taxes, that ought not to have been brought forward; whilſt he has left unnoticed thoſe great objects of taxation abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of Iriſh commerce. The catalogue is partly as follows:

1ſt, He had under his guardianſhip, on repealing the 6th of George I. a maiden country, poſſeſſed of materials ſuperior to the mines of Peru and Mexico, if the abilities of the people, and productions of the kingdom had been applied judiciouſly. Thoſe great objects of material he deſpiſed, and thereby continued the migration of the inhabitants, and the exportation of the material without reſtraint.

2d, He found himſelf in 1780, the financier of a country poſſeſſed of a great, but declining linen manufacture, in conſequence of the radical canker planted therein by a Britiſh bounty, without having the ſame granted in Ireland. This he turned to the diſadvantage of Ireland, and created a jealouſy in Britain, by excluding Britiſh linen manufactures from the ſame advantages of bounty when exported through Ireland, that Iriſh linens were poſſeſſed of when exported from Britain, which became a cauſe of complaint in 1782, and was by Britain laid before the Lords of the Treaſury in England, ſigned by above 500 merchants; and that complaint of his own creating has been ſo wonderfully improved by Mr. Foſter, as to become an argument in his ſpeech in favour of the fraudulent and inſidious Propoſitions, (ſee Woodfall, page 108) although Mr. Foſter brought forward that bounty bill, and by leaving out that neceſſary and juſt compliment to Britain, originated the complaint, which he has now brought as a charge of ingratitude againſt Ireland.

He has been the principal means in erecting expenſive and unneceſſary buildings at the Linen-hall, whereby he has diverted

diverted the objects of the linen fund, and thoſe intereſted in the linen trade, from attending to the manufacture, and what is moſt uſeful. He has, by procuring an intereſt at the linen board, and diſtributing the money granted the three or four laſt ſeſſions, founded all his ſchemes to depend on unneceſſary oaths, [ſee Commiſſioners of Cuſtoms Reports in England reprobating a multiplicity of oaths, page 7] and thereby applied the premiums moſtly to the per centage in place of the greateſt quantity and beſt quality in manufactures, thereby laying open to Britiſh jealouſy and inſpection, the meaſure of what is done in Ireland, and ſuggeſting to them the beſt means of abridging the progreſs, or of founding complaints againſt the Iriſh.

* He has been the principal inſtrument in diverting 4000l. yearly of the linen fund to the manufacture of Iriſh aſhes, without conſidering that we can procure aſhes from America for our manufactures, of the beſt quality, for leſs money than any material to make aſhes in Ireland can be procured of late years. He has alſo been the principal inſtrument in eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of premiums for raiſing flax ſeed through the kingdom, productive only of the moſt unheard of ſcene of perjury, fraud, and corruption, without any other object than to give ſmall premiums to people who would ſave their little quantums of ſeed, without the interference of the Linen Board; and to complete the farce, a great portion of the fund is expended in proſecuting thoſe ignorant wretches who have been thus wantonly, and contrary to the maxims of all wiſe men, led into thoſe paths of perjury and iniquity. Advertiſements reſpecting commerce and manufactures have felt his power by taxation, and even the wretched hackney coachmen could not eſcape his laſh.

He has adopted all the abſurd, oppreſſive, and unneceſſary ſchemes that neceſſity or inexperience dictated to the Britiſh adminiſtration, without attending to any of thoſe maſterly reſtraints and prohibitions, that have been dictated by Sir Robert Cotton, Sir William Temple, Dr. Davenant, &c. &c. which ſchemes of thoſe great authors have not only laid the foundation of the Britiſh manufactures and commerce, but have demonſtrated to Europe, that Britain and Ireland, uniting their abilities, and diſpoſing their materials to the beſt advantage, can never want a field for employing their inhabitants, if they purſue thoſe objects which the productions of their reſpective ſoils and country from long experience ſuggeſt to each.

About the time of the reſtoration of Charles II. when the Engliſh were in the confined ſtate of dependance on the woollen manufacture only, (as the Iriſh have been during the preſent century without any eſtabliſhed manufacture, except a ſhare of the linen trade) England, to give employment to her inhabitants, the 13th and

* See Appendix C.

and 14th of Charles II. prohibited the exportation of their green leather, tallow, wool, &c. and reſtrained under heavy impoſitions, the exportation of their coals, except in Britiſh ſhips, and all their productions or material. Thoſe acts, though moſtly introduced and enforced under the protectorate of Cromwell, waited their full confirmation until the revolution to give them energy and general currency through the world.

The Marquis of Uſtarez, a Spaniſh writer of great eminence, in his Theory of Commerce, inveighs greatly againſt England on account of the Navigation Act, paſſed, as he ſays, in time of profound peace, during the protectorate of Cromwell; but the Hollanders being at that time the general carriers of Europe, and having treated the Engliſh with great inſolence both in Europe and the Indies, called forth the reſentment of that ſtern and determined adverſary, who, in the Navigation Act excluded them from being carriers for the Britiſh dominions, and thereby laid the foundation of that ineſtimable ſource of naval ſtrength, which will ever be the more revered the more it is examined and conſidered by Britiſh or Iriſh ſubjects.

It was not in the contemplation of Cromwell, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir William Temple, Dr. Davenant, or any of the ſtateſmen or writers of that day, to narrow the baſis of the Britiſh empire in Europe, by reſtrictions on Ireland: their object was to fill Britain and Ireland with farmers, manufacturers, fiſhermen, ſailors, &c. The narrow policy of laying reſtraints on Ireland originated about the year 1697, and was the means of introducing into this country, that continued ſcene of migration and oppreſſion which pervaded Ireland down to the year 1778, when the firſt dawn of liberation began to ſhed its benignant rays on the oppreſſed Iriſh.

As ſoon as the trade of Ireland was freed from bondage, by allowing the exportation of her manufactures, the following propoſitions were ſubmitted to Mr. Foſter's conſideration, and alſo to Mr. Orde and ſome others of the adminiſtration, as correſponding with the ſpirit and wiſdom of the Britiſh revenue laws.

1ſt. To aboliſh the hearth-money tax, being unpopular, oppreſſive to the poor, and a great obſtacle to population. It is obſervable, that the hearth-money tax produced 245,000l. yearly in England in the year 1690 and afterwards, but was laid aſide, commencing the 1ſt of March, 1692, as unpopular, oppreſſive, and leaning on the poor, and this was done in the time of war with France.

2dly. To lower the brewery tax at leaſt one half, and exempt ſmall bear from exciſe, in order to reform the morals of the manufacturers and lower claſs, and promote tillage, whilſt every means ſhould be adopted to diſcourage the uſe of ſpirits as effectually as in England.

3dly.

3dly. The coal duty ought to be diſpenſed with on account of the feelings of the poor, and alſo to protect the infant manufactures in and near the city of Dublin.

4thly. The ſtamp duties may be lowered ſo as to favour the purpoſe of commerce.

5thly. The duties on ſugars may be lowered, as a neceſſary conſumption of the people.

6thly. With all thoſe deductions from the revenue, it would be farther neceſſary to provide amply for bounties to be given on exported manufactures, fiſheries on the coaſts, and to the north and ſouth, and alſo to introduce and encourage a trade to Africa, as without a participation in the African trade Ireland can never become a great ſharer in the Weſt India profits.

There is no doubt but Ireland is better circumſtanced than any country in Europe for carrying on the African trade, by the variety of her products for an African market, viz. linens, plain, printed, dyed, and ſtriped, cottons, corn-ſpirits, tallow, proviſions, with every other neceſſary part of the cargo, on as good terms as any foreign nation.

The following ſubſtitutes were propoſed in lieu of thoſe deductions, to ſupply the neceſſary purpoſes of government, according to the ſpirit of the Britiſh trade laws, and provide for all thoſe bounties, and relieve the people from the oppreſſive, unneceſſary, and unpopular burthens they are now ſubject to, whereby manufactures, tillage, and population are diſcouraged, migrations promoted, and the health and morals of the inhabitants ſhamefully neglected.

It is neceſſary to diſcourarge the rearing and feeding horned cattle and ſheep, for the ſole purpoſe of exporting their beef, butter, hides, tallow, wool, and worſted yarn, and other produce, by ſuch duties as ſhould gradually promote tillage, population, manufactures, and a diviſion of great farms and ſheep walks, and enforce a reſidence, by the following taxes and duties.

However, it is neceſſary to premiſe, that ſo much ground of the beſt, middling, or ordinary quality, as now maintains a dairy cow through the year, the produce of which is juſtly eſtimated at an hundred of butter and a calf ſkin for exportation, the whole value being, as butter is now rated, about 3l. will fully provide for an induſtrious family of ſix perſons, whoſe loweſt eſtimation to the public, employed in any ſpecies of manufacture, is not leſs than 20l. and the ſame may be ſaid of every barrel of beef exported, which in rearing and feeding the cattle for that deſtructive trade, occupies as much of the beſt lands in Ireland as would ſupport a family of ſix perſons oppoſite each barrel of beef and each head of live cattle exported, allowing the hides and tallow to be given in with the beef, to equaliſe it to the eſtimate of dairy grounds, and make it equal to 3l. the barrel, whereby there would

would be a ſaving of 17l. made to the kingdom by peopling the country, taken in a commercial point of view, abſtracted from the acquiſition of ſtrength that ſuch numbers would give to the empire; and it is believed ſuch an addition of inhabitants, gradually acquired, would ſo far improve the fineſt lands, and bring in the mountainous coarſe parts of Ireland, as not to leſſen in any degree the ſtock of horned cattle or ſheep, and the conſumption of the country would make an immediate impreſſion on the exports of thoſe productions, and ſubſtitute valuable manufactures for exportation of at leaſt five times the value in their place, and the acquiſition of ſuch numbers would be alſo felt in the revenue of Ireland, in proportion to their wealth and induſtry; as Davenant, the Britiſh merchant and others ſtate, that each perſon pays 4l. yearly to the taxes in Holland, and it is believed England does not fall much ſhort of them in taxation at preſent.

TAXES PROPOSED.

	l.	s.	d.
1. Abſentees, 1,500,000l. yearly, to be taxed at 4s. in the pound at beginning, to be raiſed to 10s. in the pound gradually, until reſidence is enforced, — —	300,000	0	0
N. B. Lord Sheffield's arguments, page 235, prove the neceſſity of this meaſure for the ſalvation of Ireland.			
2. Butter, 243,953c. 2qrs. 25lb. the medium of five years exported, ending the 25th of March, 1783, now worth, on a medium, 60s. per hundred, at 4s. per hundred additional duty.	48,790	14	0
3. Untan'd leather 64,820½ hides, the medium of 5 years ending the 25th March, 1783, at 4s. each. — —	12,964	0	0
4. Tanned leather 14,506 hides, the medium of 5 years, ending the 25th March, 1783, at 2s. each. — — —	1450	12	0
5. Calf-ſhins, 20,530 dozen, the medium of 5 years, ending the 25th March, 1783, at 5s. per dozen. — —	5132	10	0
6. Beef 176,955 barrels, val. 40s. the medium of 5 years, ending the 25th March, 1783, at 3s. per barrel. — —	26,543	5	0
7. Tallow, 41,670cwt. 1qr. 2lb. value 50s. per cwt. the medium of 5 years, ending the 25th March, 1783, at 4s. per cwt.	8334	0	0
8. Hogs lard, 3903cwt. 2qr. 16lb. value 48s. the medium of 5 years, ending the 25th March, 1783, at 4s. per cwt. —	790	14	0

9. Lamb

9. Lamb ſkins, 2041cwt. 1qr. 21b. value the medium of 5 years, ending the 25th March, 1783, at 20s. per cwt.	2041	0	0
10. Sheep ſkins, 15cwt. 1qr. 61b. the medium of 5 years, ending the 25th March, 1783, at 20s. per cwt. — —	14	12	0
11. Kelp, 966 ton, 12cwt. the medium of five years, ending the 25th March, 1783, at 20s. per ton, — —	966	10	0
12. Linen yarn, 35,849cwt. 1qr. 61b. the medium of 5 years, ending the 25thMarch, 1783, at 20s. per cwt.	35,849	5	0
13. Worſted yarn, 211,6881. value yearly, medium of 5 years, ending the 25th March, 1783, at 10l. per cent. —	21,168	16	0
14. Wool, (Iriſh) 691l. 7s. value yearly the medium of 5 years, ending 25th March, 1783, at 10.. per cent. — —	69	2	0
15. Horned cattle, 5578 head, the medium of 5 years, ending the 25th March, 1783, at 10s. per head, — —	2789	0	0
Total,	466,903	0	0

The yearly amount of thoſe taxes and duties, according to the preſent ſtate of Ireland, furniſhes ample proviſion for Examinator's firſt poſtulatum, that taxes may be ſo diſpoſed as to favour commerce and manufactures, and become the ſtaff of the people inſtead of leaning on their induſtry.

By taking the number of hundreds of butter, barrels of beef, and horned cattle now exported, (in number 426,486) excluſive of the lands occupied by ſheep, to provide wool and worſted yarn for Britain, we may thereby compute the number of families in that line alone that are excluded this country, to make room for horned cattle, and eſtimating each family to ſix perſons they amount to 2,558,916 ſouls, and I will ſuppoſe each family to gain 17l. more by their labour to the kingdom than by the preſent mode of occupying the land, they would produce the enormous additional ſum to Ireland of 7,250,262l. yearly. This is the ſpecies of political arithmetic that the great Colbert and the immortal Davenant made uſe of and reaſoned from, whereby they raiſed France and England to be the moſt powerful kingdoms in arts and arms that ever hiſtory produced, and this is a ſpecies of argument obvious to every candid reader, and has never been in Mr. Foſter's contemplation to adopt in Ireland.

Examinator challenges thoſe inexperienced ſelf-ſufficient financiers, who are apparently leading both kingdoms to deſtruction, by their incoherent and inſidious propoſitions and bills, to come

forward and controvert, in any part, the line drawn here to promote and eſtabliſh the proſperity of Ireland.

This is not a ſcheme of warfare propoſed with any country; it is not contending with the monopolizing Britons for any of their manufactures; it is only intended that Ireland ſhall not be plundered by her own children, or their proviſion given to ſtrangers, and they conſigned to perpetual beggary; and it is a ſelf-evident propoſition that her inhabitants will pay at leaſt five-fold, by their manufactures and induſtry, for thoſe proviſions and materials that are now wantonly, and contrary to every principle of common ſenſe, exported.

When Ireland adopts this line of taxation, ſhe may reſt aſſured of ſetting all rivalſhip and retaliation in her native manufactures at defiance.

LETTER XV.

IN a former letter I ſtated the ſimiliarity of circumſtance that induced Britain to oppoſe a renewal of the French treaty of commerce in Queen Anne's reign, and alſo induced the preſent oppoſition of Ireland to the Britiſh propoſitions. The French propoſitions were rejected by the Britiſh Parliament, and the Britiſh propoſitions have been with equal propriety rejected or laid aſide for the preſent, by the Iriſh Parliament.

Meſnager, in his memoirs, whilſt a reſident in Britain, as private ſecretary, ſpy, incendiary (or whatever name fits him beſt) to Louis the fourteeenth, during Queen Anne's war, tells us that England was the readieſt country in the world in which to find writers for a ſmall ſum to prove or diſprove any theſis that the circumſtances of the day made neceſſary; and that by the aſſiſtance of thoſe incendiary writers, every victory Marlborough obtained enabled him to ſpread freſh diſcontents through Britain. If Meſnager was to reviſit Britain at this day, he would obſerve that ſpecies of duplicity had pervaded the whole iſland, and that a plentiful ſhare of the weed had been tranſplanted into Ireland.

It has been uſual among great men in all ages to repreſent by tropes and figures, their ſtrongeſt characters to the people; whether this was or not the Chancellor of the Exchequer's object in aſſerting that Ireland had no one article of commerce to carry to a foreign market without obtaining from Britain, or any foreign port to ſend her linens to, ſhall be the ſubject of my inquiry, to prevent ſuch vague aſſertions making an impreſſion among the uninformed

informed of every degree, as *that* gentleman has been for years held up to the Iriſh as their ableſt advocate and beſt friend.

MANUFACTURES OF SMALL WARES.

The manufacturers of ſmall wares at Mancheſter (gartering, tapes, &c.) tell us, * that nine-tenths of the worſted and linen yarn uſed in this manufacture is imported from Ireland, and that they pay on average not leſs than 12½d. per cent. more than the Iriſh manufacturer for them.—That this branch employs 6000 perſons in the town and neighbourhood of Mancheſter. They ſtate that worſted yarn is about 28 per cent. lower in Ireland than in England of the ſame quality, and linen yarn about 18 or 19 per cent. and that their export trade in this article to Ireland decreaſes daily; (does not every Iriſhman pity them!) that the Iriſh make and export conſiderable quantities, and improve in the manufacture; and that this branch has only been transferred within theſe thirty years from Holland to Mancheſter.—Notwithſtanding this evidence in favour of Ireland, thoſe gentlemen tell us we cannot exiſt a minute without Britain, nor have we any article to carry to market but what we get from thence. We ſhall leave them and thoſe manufacturers to reconcile their different aſſertions, and proceed to the next branch of Iriſh commerce.

MANUFACTURES OF LEATHER.

The manufacturers of leather are the next line of tradeſmen ſhall be taken notice of. They tell us * the Britiſh tanner is obliged to ſupply himſelf with raw hides and calve ſkins from Ireland, which hides are only charged with two per cent. duty, and calve ſkins with five per cent. ad valorem, on the value in Ireland, while they have a protecting duty of no leſs than 77 per cent. ſubſiſting on Iriſh *wrought* leather imported into Britain. They lament that we get Engliſh bark to ſupply our tanners, without conſidering that whilſt we raiſe the value of Welſh eſtates in buying their bark, we leſſen the correſpondence we may now promote with the free States of America and the Eaſt Countries, where we may in either exchange Iriſh manufactures for a ſufficient ſupply of bark; and if the freight ſhould be higher (which is doubtful, as the Welſh bark veſſels get the money for their bark and generally return in ballaſt) a ſmall duty on the green leather and ſkins now exported to Britain, applied as a bounty on the importation of bark and exportation of manufactures of leather, may ſoon give us the full poſſeſſion of this branch of manufacture in all the extenſive variety it leads to.

The manufacturers of leather in Britain ſtate their whole export, on an average of five years before the war, at 417,000lb. and the proportion taken off by the American market about

* See their Evidence before the Lords and Commons of Britain.

194,575lb. nearly one half. They add farther, that the Iriſh are ſupplying that market with goods lower than the Engliſh can afford them.

Ireland exported to England in the year ending 25th March, 1783, as follows:

	Hides.
Hides untanned, valued at 1l. 6s. 8d. each,	50,204
Tanned ditto, 1l. 13s. 4d. ditto. ——	335
The ſame year to Scotland, untanned, at 1l. 6s. 8d. each, —— —— —	4585
Tanned ditto, at 1l. 13s. 4d. each, ——	47
	55,171

Amounting in the whole to 73,668l. 13s. at this low valuation; and excluſive of this the ſkins exported to Britain in the ſame year, viz. calf, goat, kid, lamb and rabbit ſkins, at the low eſtimate they are rated at, amount to no leſs than 25,492l. 12s. 9d. more. If to theſe we add the hides and ſkins, tanned and untanned, exported to all foreign countries, and look at this mine of treaſure with the eye of a Britiſh manufacturer, we ſhall open a field for the employment of our people, and create a foreign demand at leaſt five fold the value of the raw material of leather and ſkins, amounting with their accompanying materials in ſadlery, &c. to two millions ſterling.—The advocates for Britiſh manufactures muſt allow we have no occaſion to apply to Britain for this fund to ſupport commerce in Ireland.

The examination of the Britiſh leather manufacturers at the bar of the lords and commons, throw new lights on this great branch of trade, well deſerving the attention of the Iriſh; they ſtate, that great part of their raw hides and calf-ſkins are imported from Ireland, and particularly the light ſorts of leather, beſt fitted for making ſhoes and boots for the army, navy, and exportation to the Weſt-Indies and North America; they further ſay, half their conſumption has been in North America, for thoſe articles.

They ſtate the prices of Engliſh bark, at 6l. 10s. to 7l. or even up to 8l. in Ireland, whilſt it brings only 3l. 15s. to 5l. in England; they alſo ſtate, that the prices of bark have advanced, from 4l. to 6l. and up to 8l. in Dublin market, within the laſt thirty years (ſee examination before the lords, p. 103); they further ſtate, the advanced price of bark, as owing to the increaſed demand for it from Ireland, and the ſcarcity ariſing in England, by the timber being cut down, and fewer falls of timber each ſeaſon in proportion to the demand than formerly, and theſe arguments are ſtrengthened by the oak being almoſt intirely cut down in Ireland, and the demand will increaſe with Iriſh improvements

provements of the land, whereby an increaſed ſtock of cattle will be the natural conſequence.

They alſo ſtate, that by a reſtrictive law, prohibiting the Scotch from ſhaving their hides and ſkins in the proceſs of tanning, the Scotch are now likely to loſe the great ſhare they had obtained within the laſt twenty years in ſhoemaking, wherein they employed, 20 or 30,000 hands, and that the Iriſh have by that means obtained a great advantage in tanning and making ſhoes for an export trade, by keeping the leather manufacture clear of reſtraints reſpecting the ſhaving the hides, and unneceſſary duties, which it appears in this examination had been the means of driving out of the trade in Scotland, the greateſt company in the leather manufacture or tannage in the world, except one which they inſtance as carried on at *Berne* in Switzerland; the Scotch ſtate that they employed about 400 people in this manufacture, and it is ſtated through all their evidence, that preventing the tanners from ſhaving their hides and ſkins in ſuch ſtages of the proceſs as they think moſt for their advantage, is a loſs of 5 per cent. in the trade of tanning in time and bark on the manufactured goods.

The wickedneſs and abſurdity of permitting Iriſh raw material of hides and ſkins to be exported to Britain, Spain, France, Holland, the Netherlands, &c. almoſt duty free, muſt be obvious, and thereby enabling thoſe ſtates to oppoſe us with rival manufactures, whilſt properly guarding the Iriſh material, might employ profitably at leaſt 1,000,000 of Iriſh inhabitants, and enable them to command an unrivalled market in all manufactures where leather makes a principal part of the material.

The Britiſh attempt, in their propoſitions and bills, to confine Ireland to the uſe of Britiſh bark only, is a matchleſs eſſay to deſtroy the trade, and make Ireland for ever a rearing and feeding country, to provide material for Britiſh monopoliſts, as all the Britiſh tanners, curriers, and other manufacturers in leather complain that the Iriſh have advanced the price of bark on them, and the price has been doubled in both kingdoms within the laſt thirty years, and what appears moſt extraordinary in all their examinations, that no one has had candor or ſufficient information, to let thoſe ignorant, ſelfiſh, monopolizing manufacturers of Britain know, that Ireland has two other unlimited markets open to them, from whence to procure oak bark, viz. the Eaſt Country and North America, from either of which countries they may be ſupplied for one half or two thirds the coſt of Engliſh bark, and Ireland in dealing with either of them for her bark, can exchange her manufactures to great advantage for it; this will be a farther ſource of commerce, to extend our correſpondence, and vend our manufactures with Ruſſia, Denmark, Sweden, and the free States of America.

Mr.

Mr. Newman's evidence before the lords (p. 106) deſerves particular notice; he ſtates, that the Iriſh curriers uſe pilchard oil of ordinary and cheap quality, mixed with Newfoundland cod oil, whereby their manufactures of leather are brought into diſrepute in foreign markets; this may be remedied by a prohibition of pilchard oil, and it ſeems abſolutely neceſſary from this evidence to keep open the free importation of cod oil from all nations whatever; and it is obſervable, that by the inſidious bill and propoſitions, the importation of cod oil would have been limited to the Britiſh Newfoundland fiſhery alone; the ſupplying this cod oil will be a farther neceſſary ſource of furniſhing the American States with returns for our manufactures of leather &c. exported to them.

The evidence of Mr. William Horton, before the committee of the Houſe of Commons (p. 219) is very inviting: To encourage the Iriſh to eſtabliſh the manufacture of ſhoes for exportation, he obſerves that a great part of the work is done by candle light, and that in Ireland there is no tax on candles; he alſo obſerves, that ſhoe making is a trade ſo eaſily learned, that when he found a ſcarcity of journeymen during the laſt war, he found labourers of tolerable capacity became good workmen in a year, of which he had 50 employed at a time, and what was great encouragement to them to learn the trade, their being able to get a living by it the firſt week; this correſponds with Mr. Thomas Bell's evidence (p. 112 commons examination) wherein he ſtates clearly the eaſy manner, whereby their great manufacture of ſhoes, was firſt brought into Scotland about twenty years ago, employing conſtantly at preſent 30,000 people, for exportation, with their families; if theſe examinations and facts do not move the Iriſh to take care of their material of leather, Examinator fears all his arguments will fail of their intended purpoſe towards promoting the proſperity of Ireland.

The Britiſh evidence now publiſhed by our Iriſh Houſe of Commons has laid a foundation whereby to lead the Iriſh into a true knowledge of the extent and value of this branch of Iriſh material for eſtabliſhing the leather manufacture in all its branches, in which they may immediately poſſeſs themſelves of a mine of treaſure without danger of rivalſhip

The following ſtatement ſhews the quantity of imported bark that they now uſe, and how much more will be neceſſary to tan all their raw hides and ſkins now exported to foreign countries, whereby thoſe countries ſupport and eſtabliſh a rivalſhip with Iriſh material, viz.

64,820½

	l.	s.	d.
64,820½ raw hides, the medium export of 5 years ending the 25th March, 1783, computed at 80lb. on medium raw, and 40lb. when tann'd, and to require two hundred of bark to tan each hide effectually about 5lb. of bark to each pound of tann'd leather, and eſtimating the bark, ſhaved and chop'd as it is imported from England*, an additional quantity will be neceſſary to tan thoſe hides of 6482 tons 1cwt. at 6l. 15s. being the preſent market price for the beſt bark per ton,	43,753	17	6
20,530 Dozen of calf-ſkins, eſtimated to require as much bark to each dozen of ſkins as is allowed to a hide, being two hundred of bark, requires for the calf-ſkins 2058 tons of bark at 6l. 15s. per ton,	13,891	10	0
The Engliſh bark imported in the year ending the 25th March, 1783, 5553 tons 13cwt. as returned by the cuſtom-houſe of Ireland, at 6l. 15s. per ton,	37,388	0	0
Imported from Scotland, ditto ditto 67 tons at 6l. 15s. per ton,	452	5	0
Imported from the Eaſt Country and America, ditto 137 tons on a medium of the ſeven years ending the 25th March, 1783, at 6l. 15s. per ton,	924	15	0
Total,	96,410	7	6

It is believed the price of bark may be reduced one half, when the Iriſh have eſtabliſhed proper correſpondencies for it in the Eaſt Country and North America, as it bears little or no value in either of thoſe countries, except the trouble and expence of collecting and having it properly ſhaved and crop'd, ſo as to make it more portable and valuable. The difference of freight will not be conſiderable, as the bark veſſels from England return in ballaſt, and American ſhips generally return home full freighted, with manufactures; and the Eaſt Country ſhips are too often loaded with raw hides to Holland, butter, beef, tallow and other articles that may be more advantagouſly conſumed at home.

When Ireland gets poſſeſſion of an extenſive variety of manufactures, every ſtep ſhe advances in this line of commerce, will enable her to reduce the price of tanned leather, and extend more effectually the ſale of her manufactures.

* Two hundred of bark is eſtimated to a barrel in England, and one hundred and half in this account.

A com-

A comparison of the importance of the leather manufacture in England and Ireland, may be taken from the evidence of Mr. William Roberts, before the Committee of the Lords (page 55.) where he states the bark used by the tanners of England in 1784, as computed from the leather that actually paid duty, to no less than 84,157 tons, and the bark exported to Ireland in 1781 to 6,165 tons, and in 1783, the highest year, to no more than 8942 tons for to perform nearly the whole tannage of Ireland, not equal to an eleventh part of the tannage of England, their own evidence demonstrates the low state of the leather manufacture of Ireland, and the bad policy of our Irish Financier in taxing the tanners last sessions, and aiming at a revenue by taxes on leather in Ireland, which is truly correspondent with his general schemes of taxation *to favour England at the expence of Ireland.*

Since writing the preceding observations on the tanning and leather trade, Examinator communicated them and also the evidence before the Lords and Commons of Britain to the corporation of tanners, in order to obtain their sentiments on this important branch of manufacture for the employment of our people, and received from that very respectable body the annexed letter and remarks in consequence thereof.

SIR,

"I send you a copy of our observations upon the evidence given before the Lords and Commons of England, by those in the tanning business; and request you will make that use of them best calculated to prevent a tax which must fall chiefly on the poor of this nation, and totally overthrow every subsequent advantage this kingdom might receive by an encouragement of the leather branch of trade.

"I am, Sir, together with the rest of my brethren, obliged for your politeness and information, and trust that your exertions for the interests of trade may prove successful.——Believe me, Sir, your obedient and humble servant,

A TANNER."

Dublin, 18th, Jan. 1786.

"*To the author of Examinator's letters.*"

OBSERVATIONS.

SIR,

"From a view of the tanner's evidence before the Lords and Commons of England, a very slight examination of Mr. William Baylis's testimony, proves them guilty of very great inconsistency,

"It is evident by their making a stand against the *Irish Propositions*, they were either greatly afraid of losing a trade at present, by

by his account not worth keeping, or elſe by this means the Iriſh would have it in their power to rival them in their export trade.

" In page 98 he declares a green hide weight 60lb. invoiced at 12s. 6d. firſt coſt, which is at the rate of 2½d. per lb. would, when ready for ſale, weigh 25lb. He computes the bark, wages, &c. neceſſary for the manufacture of ſaid hide, at from 4d. to 5d. per lb. the duty is 1½d. per lb. If 60lb. prime coſt be 12s. 6d. the hide, 25lb. when dried and manufactured ſtands in 6d. per lb. firſt coſt, add 4d. his loweſt computation for manufacture and 1½d. duty, they make in all 11½d per lb. It appears from Mr. Newman's evidence about page 45, he offered to furniſh a merchant with hides at 9d. per lb. and that the merchant had his order ſupplied in Ireland at 8½d. (which by the by, was lower than a conſiderable, or indeed ſcarce any order has been made up in Dublin this ſeaſon;) it is declared by more than one, that the expence of drawing back the tax now paid by the Engliſh tanners, is ſo conſiderable as to render an application for it of but little or no importance, ſo that ſuppoſing Mr. Newman to have got 9d. per. lb for his hides, Mr. Baylis and his brethren in ſimilar circumſtances muſt have been at a loſs of 2½d. upon every pound of leather ſold the merchant.

" Query. Would gentlemen who love trade and the profits of it ſo much as Engliſhmen, be anxious to follow a buſineſs by which they loſe 2½d. out of 11½d. per lb.

" The ſame gentleman acknowledges, (page 103) that in Briſtol they have their bark one third cheaper than the Iriſh. If 4l. or 4l. 10s. per tun be the price of bark in Briſtol, and 6l. 15s. the current price of bark in the Iriſh market, it is evidently one third dearer than the Briſtol bark, though in general the refuſe: Yet notwithſtanding this advantage, behold the Briſtol tanner's amazing loſs of 2½d. per lb.

" In Ireland the price is ſometimes from 7l. to 8l. per tun. Remark the Engliſh tanners get 120lb. to their cwt. the Iriſh only 112lb. but as a kind of recompence for this, we have our bark from them ſcraped and chopped; the chief advantage of chopping is to ſtow it in the hold of the veſſel that it may contain the more; the part ſcraped of it if they are not belied, is mixed with the bark after it is chopped; but let this be as it will, the difference of the price between Briſtol and Dublin, according to Mr. Moon's calculation, (page 115) appears 4s. 8d. againſt the Iriſh in tanning a 60lb. hide. How the Iriſh tanner can afford to pay a tax at this rate, let thoſe gentlemn who have a landed intereſt in this country conſider?

" If the Engliſh had not competitors in our green hide market, it is not probable they would be ſo generous as to conſider the value of our green hides, and for their great affection to our country, give us what they are worth; it is true, if they tanned them

all in England their revenue muſt be encreaſed, but why are they not content with their preſent advantages, not only by importing our live cattle, but cramping our leather manufacture by drawing a prodigious quantity of our green hides out of this kingdom? They talk greatly of their bark, but do not they get our ready money for it? And if we were not to take it, would they not be obliged to burn or ſell at a very low price, the chief part of what comes to Ireland? If a greater plenty be wanting in England of this article, why do they clog with a very heavy duty the importation of it from countries whence they might have it in great quantities? It appears evident, that a tax upon either the manufacturer or manufacture of leather in Ireland, would put it in the power of the Engliſh to make a monopoly of that trade, by which they would not only deprive us of the little export we have, but be enabled to furniſh the Iriſh market with our own hides manufactured by them. They complain loudly that their export trade is much injured by the Iriſh ſending a number of ſhoes to America: We are perſuaded they ſent more than they had much profit by, and it is believed few of thoſe countries which exported goods to America found the conſumption for them they were led to expect from the ſuppoſed exigencies of the Americans at the concluſion of the war. We do not wiſh the Engliſh to take off the 77 per cent. upon the importation of our leather into their country; we aſſure them we ſhall not be grieved if they add 77 per cent. to the former, but we beg to be deliveredfrom all ideas of a tax, as the profits of the leather branch would not leave it in the power of the manufacturer to buy a decent ſuit of black to mourn the total annihilation of a trade of much more conſequence to the proſperity of this kingdom than is imagined in general.

" Mr. Gutteridge mentions, (page 37) the London journeymen tanners are paid from 13 to 14s. per week, while the Dublin tanners pay but from 8 to 9s. per week, and that Dublin has an advantage of 30 per cent. in that article of expence. Leaſt this information ſhould have weight, it is proper to obſerve the Dublin tanners are paid 10s. 10d. per week, and have beſides, as perquiſites, the tan, the hair, (except the tails) and fleſhings of the hides, the amount of which in many tan yards in London comes to each 100l. per annum, perhaps 200l. each yard of theſe of the greateſt extent; it is believed this more than equalizes the difference between 10s. 10d. per man and 13 or 14s. The large fortunes the Engliſh tanners make, prove they are not conſiderable loſers by their buſineſs, but it is humbly hoped the wiſdom of our ſenators and the love they have to their country will ever overturn and diſappoint the views of intereſted men, protect thoſe manufactures moſt likely to prove a ſource of wealth to this riſing nation, make her appear honourable in the eyes of the world, ſupply her numerous poor inhabitants with freſh motives to induſtry

and

and leave it in the power of the pooreſt Iriſhman to act a worthy and a virtuous part.

"SIR,
Your moſt Obedient
and Humble Servant,
for Brethren and Self,
A TANNER."

MANUFACTURES OF SILK,

With its various mixtures of cotton, worſted and linen yarn, they ſtate*, that they employ 2000 looms in the town of Mancheſter alone, giving conſtant employment to above 6000 people; that the buſineſs is plain, ſoon learned, and women and children employed in it. They ſtate that the Iriſh manufacturer has an advantage of 30 per cent. in exciſe and labour over them, and by the ſtatement of the duties on ſilk being lower in Ireland, and the material of worſted and linen yarn, (as ſtated by the manufacturers of ſmall wares) greatly in favour of the Iriſh manufacturer, this muſt become a branch of commerce that Ireland will not have occaſion to reſort to Britain for; and ſo far demonſtrably proves the aſſertion of thoſe advocates in favour of Britiſh manufacturers unfounded.

The cotton manufacture is one of the great objects Ireland is to look to in future to employ her people, and promote her commerce. The manufacturers of this article in Mancheſter tell us* they employ, on a moderate computation, 300,000 people, and pay to the revenue one million ſterling per annum, independent of 150,000l. more in duties, paid on printing, drugs, &c. uſed in the manufacture.

They tell us all the low priced, and many of the middle priced fuſtians have their warps made of Iriſh linen yarn, which comes on a medium at leaſt 10 per cent. cheaper to the Iriſh than the Britiſh manufacturer; and there cannot be a doubt but Ireland may, at all times, procure the cotton wool on as reaſonable terms as Britain.

They tell us our worſted ſpinners can be eaſily turned to the ſpinning of cotton, which is done for nearly a third of the price paid in England; that Ireland has got poſſeſſion of their machinery; and they ſtate, as an incontrovertible fact, that the Iriſh linen weavers make the very beſt cotton weavers; and that the various branches of finiſhing, ſuch as dying, cutting, dreſſing, &c. will be in favour of Ireland in the ſame proportion as the weaving.

They even aſſert, that a gentleman juſt returned from America affirms, that he ſaw Iriſh corduroys there on much better terms than any imported from England; this is a great declaration in fa-

* See Examinations before Lords, Commons and Council of Britain.

vour of this infant manufacture in Ireland. They then proceed to ſtate that, although the Iriſh have not made an equal progreſs in ſome of the fine articles, yet as the conſumption of thoſe fine articles does not bear a proportion of one to twenty with thoſe of the low and middle priced, which are the nurſery and ſupport of every factory, by employing the young and aged, the ſale the moſt extenſive and certain, and the very exiſtence of this great branch of trade, abſolutely depending on retaining the market for low and middle priced goods.

Thoſe manufacturers further ſtate, that Ireland has made ſuch a progreſs in this manufacture ſince her trade was opened in 1780, that beſides nearly ſupplying her own conſumption, her export has increaſed from 1108 yards in 1781, to 47,237 yards in the year 1784, which England has felt by the decreaſe of her exportation to Ireland, during the ſame period, from 22,618 ends to 989 only.

Thus far the manufacturers of England ſtate the advantages Ireland poſſeſſes, and to thoſe may be added the many and ſuperior opportunities in Ireland of erecting water machinery, from her numerous rivulets and water falls which no country in Europe poſſeſſes in an equal degree, and from the temperature of her climate to enable manufacturers to purſue their ſeveral occupations in all ſeaſons of the year.

This examination in Britain, whilſt it has laid open the extent of their manufactures and expectations, has afforded the greateſt information to Ireland that any country ever received. We are told by the wealthieſt, the wiſeſt, and the greateſt manufacturing country in the world, that in every point of view we are preferable, and may poſſeſs ourſelves of their beſt branches of commerce, by working up our own materials of linen and worſted yarn, with the variety of mixtures of ſilk and cotton that fancy gives birth to every ſeaſon.

The precipice Ireland has eſcaped, in ſtill having it in her power to retain her own materials, and promote her own market for her manufactures, which it was intended by thoſe inſidious propoſitions to have wreſted from her for ever, whilſt Britain with a jealous eye guarded every article of her material by new reſtrictions on the Iriſh trade, and her even ſubjecting our linens to duty unleſs the ſmall protecting duty of a halfpenny a pound on linen yarn was taken off, and ſubjecting leather and tallow to countervailing duties unleſs they were exempted from duties in Ireland, all prove how cautious the Iriſh ought to be hereafter in whom they place any confidence, or allow to tamper with their commercial intereſts.

When all the branches of their manufacture are laid before the public, as ſtated to the Lords and Commons of Britain, and their conſequence drawn into one view, and the dangers apprehended from the interference of Ireland inveſtigated, it will appear

that

that the gentlemen who made thoſe aſſertions had not read and conſidered the Britiſh evidence, and were unacquainted with the produce and abilities of Ireland, and therefore totally diſqualified to dictate to the Iriſh reſpecting thoſe great commercial queſtions, which are a ſcience now well worthy the ſtudy of the Iriſh nation.

LETTER XVI.

IN my laſt letter I ſhewed that we might poſſeſs ourſelves of the manufactures of ſmall wares, leather, ſilk with mixtures and cotton, proving the favourable circumſtances of Ireland to purſue thoſe branches for an export trade with greater advantage than they can be carried on in Britain; and I ſhall now ſupport the laſt letter, and add other branches of commerce, in oppoſition to thoſe gentlemen who wiſh to ſubſtitute bold aſſertions in place of facts.

SOAP AND CANDLES.

By the 13th and 14th of Charles II. the exportation of raw hides and tallow was prohibited in England under a penalty of 500l. a year's impriſonment of the maſter and mariners, the forfeiture of the goods, and of the ſhip if with the owner's knowledge; this was an effectual law to introduce the various manufactures of leather, alſo of ſoap and candles, among that wiſe people. The financiers of Ireland are called upon to anſwer for their neglect of ſo fair an object for taxation or prohibition, lying upwards of an hundred years within their reach, but particularly ſince the repeal of 6th of George I. The export of tallow and hogs lard, on a medium of the laſt ſeven years, is about 46,000 cwt. and may be fairly eſtimated at upwards of a hundred thouſand pounds value of raw material yearly. We have exported on a medium during the ſame time 966 tons of Iriſh kelp yearly, which, with the aſſiſtance of a certain portion of lime, which is to be had almoſt in every pariſh in Ireland, would have converted one half of this exported tallow into hard ſoap, and by working the refuſe of our tow into candlewick-yarn, a branch of the linen manufacture, the other half might be made into candles for exportation, and both together would add at leaſt 100,000l. yearly to the manufactures of Ireland, whilſt they employed many thouſands of our poor in plain branches, a knowledge of which in every ſtage is eaſily attained.

The

The Britiſh tallow-chandlers and ſoap-makers, who were examined by the Committee of Council, ſtate many advantages that the Iriſh poſſeſs, and a heavy duty laid on the exportation of Iriſh tallow and kelp is all the encouragement neceſſary to give immediate poſſeſſion of this branch of trade to Ireland, and would not only prove a ſource of national wealth, but be a great aſſiſtant to make outfits of cargoes to moſt foreign countries where ſoap and candles are demanded, and particularly to Africa, where tallow is a principal article of commerce.

This is one of the many internal reſources of commerce for which Ireland has no occaſion to apply to Britain, or any other country to aſſiſt her, the material being all her own; and by the want of ſuch a reſtraint on the exportation of her tallow, ſo improvident does Ireland appear in the year 1785, as to have exported more than ſhe could ſpare even from her conſumption, and is therefore obliged to import largely of Ruſſian tallow, greatly inferior in quality to her own, to ſupply the preſent demands of the kingdom for home conſumption.

There appears ſome unaccountable infatuation in the Iriſh councils for upwards of a hundred years, in not having followed the example of England in prohibiting the exportation of their hides and tallow, but particularly ſince 1778, ſince which time they have had a free export of leather and tallow manufactured to the Britiſh plantations, and the attempt of the Britiſh adminiſtration to continue the exportation of raw hides and tallow from Ireland for ever by their inſidious propoſitions, is the more glaring, whilſt they carefully continue the prohibition on their own. The ſimilarity of circumſtances correſponds perfectly with the ſtate of England in her exports to France before her prohibitions the 13th and 14th Charles II. and the total prohibition of the French trade in 1678, in which ſhe termed that trade a public nuiſance. The æra the Britiſh adminiſtration have taken for their example to follow, ſupported by the gentlemen they have prevailed with to aid them in Ireland, does not appear a favourable omen to the commerce or liberties of Ireland. But the glorious ſtand made by a virtuous and ſtrong repreſentation of the people, ſeems to bid defiance to all their machinations, and it is incumbent on the merchants and manufacturers to ſtate their grievances to thoſe faithful repreſentatives in the moſt explicit terms. It was by ſuch means the trading intereſt of England defeated all the intrigues of France, and eſtabliſhed the manufactures and commerce of Britain, ſo as to take the lead of all nations at this day. (ſee King's Britiſh Merchant, publiſhed in 1714.)

LETTER

LETTER XVII.

EXAMINATOR having already mentioned that he has viewed every county in Ireland, will now go farther, and ſay, there are few pariſhes in the kingdom (and thoſe in the moſt remote and leaſt important parts) wherein he has not made it his buſineſs to look into their ſituation, and conſider how far they were capable of improvement.——Davenant tells us, there was not an exciſeman in England and Wales that he did not viſit in his diſtrict, and examine the circumſtances and neceſſity for his appointment.

The general knowledge that Davenant gained by his tour in England and Wales, enabled him to combat ſo ſucceſsfully the writers againſt the manufactures and trade of England at that day, whereby they obtained full poſſeſſion of their own material, for the employment of their people, and were placed in a ſtate of renovation of commerce, after all the feuds, revolutions and changes they had undergone under the arbitrary Stuart race; if Examinator can place Ireland in a more favourable point of view, in the eyes of her own ſenators, and perſuade Britain that the liberties and proſperity of the Iriſh are entwined with her deareſt intereſts, he will obtain the ſummit of his wiſhes.

It will require all the force of reaſon and argument, ſupported by a virtuous repreſentation of the people, to combat the prejudices and miſrepreſentations with which this kingdom has been led and deceived upwards of a century, ſince the firſt breach made in the Navigation Act, reſpecting Ireland. Lord Sheffield tells us, that we have got more than we expected or looked for, and therefore leaſt we ſhould get into a habit of aſking more, what we have got ought to be wreſted from us. This explanation ſeems to be the ſcope of his Lordſhip's aim. But Mr. Young, the tour writer, who aſſumes as many honorary titles as Don Quixote, goes farther, and has thereby undeſervedly obtained patrons in Ireland, and ſeems to be one of Lord Sheffield's admired writers reſpecting this country; he has delivered his opinion reſpecting Ireland, in the latter part of his 2d Volume, from page 208 forward, in moſt extraordinary terms, and Examinator here tranſcribes and refers to a few of Mr. Young's "cauſes, (as he phraſes them) that have impeded "the progreſs of Iriſh proſperity."

"The bounty on the inland carriage of corn to Dublin, which "by changing a beneficial paſturage to an execrable tillage, at a "heavy expence to the public, has done much miſchief to the "kingdom, beſides involving it in debt."

"The perpetual interference of Parliament, in every branch "of domeſtic induſtry, either for laying reſtrictions or giving "bounties, but always doing miſchief."

The

" The mode of conducting the Linen Manufacture, which by " ſpreading over all the North, has annihilated agriculture " throughout a fourth part of the kingdom, and taken from a great " and flouriſhing manufacture, the uſual effect of being an en- " couragement to every branch of huſbandry.

" The ſtoppage of emigrations for five years, which has accu- " mulated a ſurplus of population, and thereby diſtreſſed thoſe " who are rivalled by their ſtaying at home *."

This

* Examinator, in his progreſs through the grazing counties of Ireland, has been in company with ſeveral who agreed with Mr. Young in this poſition, two of which he will inſtance: At Tuam in the county of Galway, a gentleman of large eſtate, moſt of which he held in his own hands in paſturage for oxen or ſheep walk, ſhewed to Examinator about 270 acres of his eſtate that he lamented was the only part that had not a good face, as he expreſſed himſelf, but made a ragged appearance; this ſpot, ſo diſagreeable in his eyes, contained three villages conſiſting of upwards of 70 families, who were induſtriouſly employed in the linen and woollen manufactures; but alas their tenure expired in two years, and Examinator paſſing that way ſome years afterwards, obſerved that the proprietor had gratified his wiſhes, in clearing the ground of thoſe wretched inhabitants, whom he deemed a nuiſance in the country. The ſtones that formed their little cabbins were raiſed in clumps, and their gardens levelled and laid down in paſturage and ſheep walk; the villagers, who it was allowed had paid their ſmall portions of rent punctually, were baniſhed, the women and children conſigned to beggary, and the men picked up, ſome to fill the armies of France or Spain, and others to enlarge the baneful roll of emigrants to America.

The other caſe Examinator will inſtance, was at Tallagh in the county of Waterford, where an old man who had about 800 dairy cows, let out to different families from 20 to 60 in each dairy, for which they paid a hundred of butter, ſome more, ſome leſs, for each cow; this old man had juſt rented from the agent of an abſentee, a large tract of coarſe mountainous country, then under leaſe for two or three years unexpired, to about two hundred villagers, whoſe anceſtors had been driven out of the rich lands of Tipperary, to make room for oxen to ſupply the proviſion trade, and had formed villages in vallies of the mountainous parts of the county of Waterford, and there reclaimed conſiderable tracts of ground about their warm cabbins: the women were all employed in ſpinning worſted to ſupply the Britiſh manufacturers, and many of the men in planting potatoes for Dublin market; others in ſtrengthening the Newfoundland fiſhery and Britiſh navy, by manning veſſels that called annually for them at the ports of Waterford, Youghall, &c. and thereby paid their rents punctually; but the convenience ariſing to an agent or abſentee, of receiving his rent from one tenant in place of two hundred, and the expectation of adding to the old man's ſtock of dairy cows, one more oppoſite every villager, and the appearance of an increaſing demand for butter, to ſupply foreign demands, was the ſure means of depriving thoſe wretched inhabitants of the fruits of their fathers and their own inceſſant induſtry, in reducing to tillage and gardens thoſe coarſe mountainous grounds near their cabbins.

It was the misfortune of thoſe induſtrious people, that the old man outlived their leaſe, and enjoyed the gratification of baniſhing the whole ſtock of inhabitants, leaving only one family to every dairy of 40 cows or more.

Are not theſe inſtances ſufficient to move compaſſion in the moſt unfeeling heart? And Examinator does aſſert, that the three provinces of Leinſter, Munſter and Connaught, and alſo the counties of Cavan, Fermanagh and Donegall

This ſpecimen of Mr. Young, is given to ſhew how ſtrangely ſome of the fooliſh Iriſh are captivated with exotics, and any thing that is foreign. Had any Iriſhman advanced ſuch arguments as Mr. Young has in a few pages that are here refered to, it is probable he would have been ſent to confinement for libeling the ſtate, or had a ſtrait waiſtcoat clapt on to bring him to his ſenſes; but to the aſtoniſhment of all wiſe men, ſuch ſpecimens have obtained him patrons and admirers among many of the Iriſh.

From the preceding declaration of Examinator's view of the kingdom, the firſt objects that naturally preſent themſelves to an inquiſitive reader, are as follow: What are the leading features of the different provinces reſpecting ſoil and climate; how circumſtanced for water and fuel, and what ſpecies of manufacture do the inhabitants point their induſtry to; how provided or likely to be ſupplied with material, with greateſt facility; what branches of manufacture are moſt lucrative or promiſe the moſt certain conſumption at home, or demand for exportation.

The province of Ulſter is generally a cold clay, abounding with land ſprings, and very little of the country fit for ſheep, either to fatten them in ſummer or keep them up in winter; this naturally led the native inhabitants into the linen manufacture; in which we find, from Fynes Morriſon's authority, that they were principally employed ſo early as O'Neill's rebellion, as O'Neill had thereby been enabled to draw a revenue of 80,000l. yearly, from that province, to pay and ſupport his troops; in which manufacture they were joined by the great influx of ſettlers from Scotland upon the acceſſion of James the firſt.

The original flax of Ireland was very fine in quality, but not ſo long as the flax raiſed from the Eaſt country or American ſeed, and the Iriſh at that early period, ſaved all their own flax-ſeed. As Lord Strafford makes a merit of having brought the firſt foreign flax-ſeed into Ireland, from the Low Countries, (See his defence to the 13 articles of impeachment brought againſt him from Ireland,) this foundation laid in the linen manufacture, gave the province of Ulſter a great advantage over the other three provinces, when Ireland became afterwards barbarouſly confined to the linen manufacture only, by the laws paſſed in 1698 and 1699,

Donegall are undone by this ſpirit of land-jobbers, great graziers, and feeders of ſheep and oxen, to ſupply proviſion or material for foreign demand, and calls aloud for the interpoſition of parliament, to reſcue the kingdom from the moſt abominable ſyſtem that ever prevailed in any the moſt barbarous countries on earth.

Theſe are the fruits of uninformed, ſelf-ſufficient or inexperienced financiers under the controul and direction of Britiſh councils, who too often dictate to the Iriſh ſenate.

contrary to every idea of juſtice and ſound policy; it was that chain of deteſtable reſtrictive laws reſpecting Ireland, that gave France ſo great a hold in the manufactures and commerce of Europe.

The three provinces of Leinſter, Munſter and Connaught, are much ſuperior in the quality of their lands, and generally warmer in the bottom, and fitter for rearing and feeding ſheep; and excellent for tillage, from their depth and ſtrength of ſoil and limeſtone or gravel; the moſt mountainous have in many parts a breed of ſheep that produce as fine and valuable wool as any in Britain; by examining the ſtockings made in Ire-Connaught, commonly called Cunomara, alſo in parts of Kerry, Cork, Waterford, and the wool in many of the mountainous or coarſe grounds of thoſe three provinces, particularly in a diſtrict of the counties of Clare and Galway, called Killovira, the truth of this aſſertion will appear; however the buſineſs of a woolſtapler to aſſort the wool, and ſupply each trade with what is fit for their purpoſe, a buſineſs ſo univerſally practiſed in Britain, is little known in Ireland; no wonder the buſineſs was neglected in a country where the exportation of the manufacture was prohibited.

This leads to a general obſervation that every traveller muſt make among the native Iriſh, in thoſe three provinces of Leinſter, Munſter and Connaught; that their firſt object is the woollen manufacture, the leather manufacture in conſequence of their abundance of hides and ſkins, will naturally become the ſecond object; and the linen manufacture in the coarſer branches the third.

Where ſome of our fineſt wool is aſſorted and mixed judiciouſly with ſilk, we ſee to what a value it riſes in the manufacture of tabinets, poplins, &c. and Examinator is well informed there is no dreſs more admired in polite circles on the Continent; and taken in all the gradations it is capable of, mixed or unmixed with linen, cotton, ſilk, &c. it furniſhes a great field and variety for the employment and increaſe of our inhabitants, the improvement of the kingdom, and extenſion of commerce.

It has been aſſerted by ſome ignorant people, that we do not grow wool enough to make ſmall-cloths for the inhabitants of Ireland; ſuppoſing ſuch a fooliſh aſſertion to have its full ſcope at this day, does it follow that we cannot increaſe our quantity of wool to any degree our manufactures may require, and Examinator informs thoſe wretched pretenders to a knowledge of the kingdom, that wherever a dairy cow or an ox can be maintained through the year, ſix or eight ſheep of the large ſize, or ſmall mountain breed may be maintained in their ſtead; and if the wool of ſix or eight ſheep is eſtimated only at 4lb. weight each, and ſet againſt the production of a dairy cow or an ox, the amount will be greatly in favour of the ſheep, as a profitable ſtock, excluſive of the

the important inducement to encourage the growth of wool to ſupply material for our manufactures.

The mode is clearly pointed out to decide on the fitteſt manufacture to be introduced into each county, by Sir William Temple, where he enumerates the native productions of the kingdom, and tells us to improve thoſe in quantity and quality, and carry them to all the extent of additional profit, by manufacture, that they are capable of; this was his advice to the Iriſh in his letter to the Earl of Eſſex, in 1673, and let the reader examine how baſely Ireland was ſoon after deprived of the benefit of manufacturing all her productions of wool, hides, tallow, &c. &c. and confined to leſs than half of the linen and hempen manufactures; and to procure a knowledge of the material it has been the work of near an age to Ireland, and 1,000,000l. expence, ſo as to arrive at ſome perfection in the linen only, and ſhe muſt for ever, in a great meaſure, depend on other countries for a ſupply of flax-ſeed, owing to the uncertainty of ſeaſons, and great moiſture that prevails in the ſummer months; and the climate of Ireland is too moiſt, and not adapted to the growth of hemp; and ſail-cloth is now generally made of flax.

It would require a volume to enumerate and deſcribe the various articles of woollen manufactures, and mixtures with wool, that are now within the reach of Ireland to enter into to form aſſortments for exportation; many of them have been loſt to Britain by their avidity in graſping at too much, and by excluding Ireland, thereby encouraging French, whereby they loſt in many reſpects the whole. We find the export of woollen cloths in Queen Anne's reign, to Turkey, as ſtated by the Britiſh merchant (Vol. 1. p. 156) amounted to at leaſt 20,000 pieces annually, about 30 yards each, made of Engliſh wool, and the profit to the country was ſtated as follows on the cloths exported, viz.

	l.	s.	d.
1ſt. To make 100 broad-cloths for the Turkey trade, in England 50 packs of wool picked and ſorted, 240 lb. weight to each pack, eſtimated at 10l. per pack, — — —	500	0	0
2d. To manufacture this wool into 100 broad-cloths, the carding, ſpinning, weaving, milling, dreſſing &c. as uſually ſold white at the halls, coſt about the price of the wool, ——	500	0	0
The firſt coſt of the 100 cloths, at 10l. each, ſold white to the merchant, — —	1000	0	0

	l.	s.	d.
Brought over, —— ——	1000	0	0
3d. The merchant pays for dying the 100 cloths, viz. one third part in grain colours, at 7l. and two thirds in ordinary colours, at 30s. per cloth. Total, — —	333	6	8
4th. Alſo for ſetting, drawing, preſſing, packing, &c. at 15s. per cloth, ——	75	0	0
Total amount of thoſe 100 cloths, finiſhed and made up for exportation, ——	1408	6	8

The returns they received from Turkey for thoſe cloths, and the variety of other manufactures exported thither, were generally raw materials, for other manufactures, ſuch as Perſia raw ſilks, mohairs, goats hair, wool of different ſpecies, cotton and cotton yarn, drugs, Turkey leather, dye-ſtuffs, Levant aſhes, ſome ſpices, &c. &c.

This ſtatement opens to the view of the landed intereſt, the demand ſuch a trade creates for wool in the firſt inſtance, and conveys ſome idea of the employment it affords to the inhabitants, as the labour conſtitutes ſo great a part of the value on exportation, and the whole production may be counted a profit to the country, which is otherwiſe when the material is foreign: The addition ſuch a trade would make to our navigation, and the advantage all our other manufactures muſt derive from procuring a choice of thoſe materials on the beſt terms, are inviting circumſtances to encourage ſome eſſays in the Levant trade

It is believed a great vent may be introduced in the Levant ſeas, and alſo to Venice, as well as on both ſides the Mediterranean, for ſome ſpecies of our linens, particularly the fineſt and higheſt bleach.

To enumerate the variety of different denominations the woollen manufacture is divided into, would be uſeleſs and unneceſſary, abſtracted from the variety of mixtures with ſilk, cotton, linen, &c. that is fabricated for the different parts of the world, and with proper attention to the Turkey and Streights trade, and the other markets in Europe, Africa and America, that are now open to Iriſh manufactures, there is a ſufficient fund for improvement of trade and the employment of our inhabitants, if the monopolizing ſpirit of the Britiſh Eaſt-India company, ſhould even prevail ſo far as to continue their injunction againſt the Iriſh traverſing the ſeas, and viſiting the ſeveral nations in the Indian ocean.

There is a great ſimilitude between the arguments at this day, in favour of the monopolies of the Eaſt-India company, and the arguments uſed about the beginning of this century, in favour of the Royal African Company. The people, however, after many

years

years ſtruggle, prevailed in parliament ſo as to open the trade, and put the African forts and ſettlements under the direction of government, and opened the trade to the merchants; the conſequence has been to increaſe the trade to Africa, fifty fold within the laſt fifty years, whereby a great market has been obtained for Britiſh manufactures, and the Weſt-India ſettlements have been inlarged, improved and ſupported, and the returns in gold duſt, elephants teeth, gums, drugs, dye-woods and various materials of manufacture procured from Africa, that never would have been brought to their preſent extent and conſequence, but by laying the trade open; and the preſent overtures in India ſeem to indicate an intention in the European ſettlers there, of laying the trade open to all the world.

The importance of the woollen manufacture even in old and new drapery, is placed in a ſtrong light before the public, by the manufacturers who were examined before the Committee of Council in Britain, where they proved the value of thoſe manufactures in a diſtrict of Yorkſhire, taking in Rochdale, not more than thirty Engliſh miles ſquare, to ſend annually to market 3,273,700l. 15s. 7½d. value of thoſe woollen goods. (See appendix B, for the particulars) an amount more in value than the whole exports of Ireland.

This letter offers to the public material and manufactures with markets open to Ireland, for which there is no occaſion to apply to Britain to aſſiſt or ſupply any the ſmalleſt particle.

LETTER XVIII.

I SHALL cloſe theſe letters with ſome obſervations on the fiſheries of Ireland; it is a ſource of wealth whereby to ſupply ſailors, increaſe navigation, and aſſiſt in making up aſſorted cargoes to half of Europe and all the Weſt Indies, and this is a branch of commerce that Ireland has not only an abundant ſupply for her own conſumption, but may be able to anſwer all demands when the trade is properly adjuſted and carried on to the beſt advantage.

A view of the fiſhery carried on by the Dutch, and moſtly on the Iriſh ſhores, ſo early as James the firſt's reign, gives a lively picture of this trade in 1615, (Harleian Miſcellany, vol. 4, page 217.) It is there ſtated that the Hollanders have numbered 2000 buſſes and other large veſſels in ſight going out of their ports at once, and in this ſame place they ſtate that Holland did not exceed in the whole in ſize, Norfolk and Suffolk in England,

England, and Holland at that time is ſaid to contain more ſhipping and ſeafaring men, than England, Scotland, France and Spain put together; that they computed their fiſhermen alone employed to 37,000 men; this branch of their trade was their nurſery, and bred up the ſeamen for their extended commerce, (ſee as Sir Thomas Overbury obſerves in 1609, Harleian Miſcellany, vol. 8, page 350.) that their ſhipping at that day were eſtimated to 20,000 ſail.

It appears by all the writers of that day, that the Hollanders, by means of their naval ſtrength, gave laws to all the commercial world, throughout the reigns of James I. and Charles I. and the hiſtory of their conflicts with Britain during the protectorate of Cromwell to continue their dominion of the ſea, has more the air of romance than reality.

The commerce of England was in ſo weak and languid a ſtate in 1615, that the whole of their ſeamen and green-horns as numbered, employed in all their ſhipping, amounted only to 11,140 men, and about 4 or 500 in their trade to India, which was then in its infancy (ſee Harleian Miſcellany, vol. 4, page 210.) and of this ſmall number 4000 are repreſented as employed in the different branches of the fiſhery to Ireland, Greenland and Newfoundland.

This branch of ineſtimable commerce to Ireland, being now under the patronage of the Right Honourable Mr. Conyngham, whoſe liberality, judgment and attention render further comments on this ſubject unneceſſary; and Examinator muſt beg this gentleman's permiſſion to hold him out as an example to Iriſh travellers in future, to teach them how to pay the greateſt tribute to their country for their abſence, by transferring home whatever is uſeful or ornamental in manufactures or the fine arts.

Examinator finds the work too voluminous to proceed farther in deſcribing the variety of manufactures that may be immediately poſſeſſed by Ireland in addition to thoſe enumerated.

APPENDIX,

APPENDIX. (A.)

Reaſons and Arguments ſtated to the Britiſh Council by the Iriſh Factors, and exporting Merchants and Drapers of London, againſt the granting a Bounty on Linen exported from Ireland, Great Britain excepted.

To which are annexed, ANSWERS *to theſe Reaſons and Arguments, by Robert Stephenſon, Eſq; as ſtated to the Britiſh Council in* 1780, *which contributed to the paſſing the Bill granting the Iriſh Bounty.*

REASON I. *BECAUSE ſuch an act might give offence to the people of England, and induce them to ſolicit for a reduction of duty on foreign linens, to the immediate prejudice, and perhaps in time to the excluſion of the Iriſh.*

In ſupport of the firſt reaſon.—*The people of England will ſolicit a reduction of the duty on foreign linens, and government will without doubt, propoſe a remiſſion of the duties charged by foreigners on woollen goods, Manchester goods, Norwich goods, Bermingham goods, Sheffield goods, &c. which have been impoſed by foreign ſtates from time to time, in ſome proportion, as England dutied their linens.*

ANSWER I. The trade and intereſts of Ireland being inſeparable from the proſperity of England, will for ever ſecure to Ireland a preference in their manufactures over foreigners, and lowering the duties on foreign linens imported into England, will operate equally againſt the various linen, cotton, and alſo many branches of the woollen manufacture of Great Britain, as well as the linen manufacture of Ireland; and to ſuppoſe that opening new markets for the conſumption of Iriſh linens would give offence to the people of England, who have recently contributed ſo liberally to extend their trade, is chimerical to an extreme.

REASON II. *Becauſe that England is the greateſt and beſt market for linen in the world, and by the opulency of the importers from Ireland, the drapers there of very ſmall capitals are enabled to make large returns.*

In ſupport of the ſecond reaſon.—*At leaſt* 7-8*ths of all the Iriſh linens imported into England are conſumed in it, the other* 1-8*th is exported;*

ported; and if Ireland was to gain the whole of this trade (export) ſhe would be riſking ſeven to one on a mere idea of poſſeſſing that 1-8*th, ſuppoſing ſhe even had money for carrying it on.*

Note. *It is the loweſt priced* 1 8*th which is exported, and that is not* 1-12*th in value of the whole import*

ANSWER II. It is not denied that England is the beſt and moſt extenſive market for Iriſh linens, but it is believed one-fifth or more of the Iriſh linens imported into Great Britain are re-exported, and the expectations of Ireland in giving a bounty equal to that in Great Britain, is to enable merchants to make up aſſorted cargoes for Africa, the Weſt-Indies, &c. thereby encouraging them to ſend out all other branches of Iriſh manufacture and produce, which never can be the caſe if Britain, by means of a bounty, poſſeſs an excluſive right to export the linens of Ireland; and it is certain that to ſome parts of the coaſt of Africa, linens (the ſingle Sileſia, which can be made equal to any from Germany, in Ireland) make one full third the value of the cargo; and to all parts of the coaſt of Africa, linens printed or plain, make a conſiderable part of the outfits, and by means of exporting linens by a bounty from Ireland, the probability is, that every thouſand pounds value exported will be a means of carrying with it four or five thouſand pounds value of other Iriſh manufactures, and deprived of the linen branch on equal terms with Great Britain, muſt, in its conſequence, defeat every advantage expected to be derived to Ireland by a free trade, linen being the great ſtaple Ireland ſets out on to carry her new manufactures to market.

REASON III. *Becauſe thereby Iriſh linens may be rendered much dearer in England than heretofore, which will encourage the people of England and Scotland to extend their manufactures to the entire ſubverſion of the Iriſh, as many of them at preſent interfere, and in ſome articles have the preference.*

In ſupport of the third reaſon.—*Great Britain at preſent manufactures more linens than are exported from Ireland, and in a few years, with very little encouragement, could add thereto the quantity of Iriſh conſumed in Britain.*

ANSWER III. The price of Iriſh linens in the coarſer branches are always regulated by the prices of foreign linens at the Engliſh market and the demand from Mancheſter for Iriſh yarn: and opening new markets for Iriſh linens cannot poſſibly render the ſale more precarious, and a further demand or higher price will always operate as a premium to extend and encourage the manufacture in Ireland. By adverting to the progreſs of the linen manufactures in Europe, it will be found that the Germans and Ruſſians have benefited fully as much as the Iriſh within this century,

century, by the extenſion of the trade of England.* (See Lord Sommers's report on linen manufacture in 1703) compare the value of foreign linens imported into England in the preceding two years, with their preſent imports, and it is to be obſerved, that the Dutch and Flemiſh linens for ſhirting, amounting then to about 200,000*l.* value yearly, have been nearly excluded by the Scotch and Iriſh from the Engliſh markets, and yet the value of foreign linens imported has increaſed near two millions yearly within this century. It is now the intereſt and I hope the wiſh of every Iriſhman to promote the trade of England in linen as well as every other manufacture, having by their liberality, an intereſt in every concern that can contribute to their proſperity.

REASON IV. *Becauſe Ireland may by ſuch a procedure loſe a ſolid, ſubſtantial, and permanent market, to gain ſome that are diſtant, uncertain, and without ſpecie, and many of them open to importation from every country.*

In ſupport of the fourth reaſon.—*It is well known that the linen trade of Ireland was in the beginning entirely carried on and ſupported with the Engliſh money, and at preſent it would not be near half ſo extenſive as it is without the aid of Engliſh property: the people of Ireland having immediately the eſtimated amount of their linens as ſoon as the Engliſh importer is in poſſeſſion of them. The foreigners ſend great part of their linens to England on this account, and though one ſubſidy is retained on the part exported to our colonies, yet they find a great advantage in having a market that ſupplies them with immediate money.*

ANSWER IV. The markets of Spain and Portugal are not ſo diſtant, comparing their credits as England; the credits on linens in England being ſeven months, in Spain and Portugal ready money to four months credit, and the returns from either in ſpecie if ordered, or wines, fruit, ſalt, or other merchandize, that muſt be otherwiſe purchaſed with money from Ireland. Spain and Portugal have hitherto been ſupplied with French, German, and other foreign linens, plain and printed, and if any impreſſion can be made by introducing Iriſh linens, plain or printed, it will ſo far contribute to the commercial intereſt of Great Britain and Ireland. To effect this it muſt be at firſt ſupported by a bounty; when matured into an eſtabliſhed trade the neceſſity will then ceaſe. It is admitted, that the Iriſh linen trade is aſſiſted by Engliſh capitals and credits; but it muſt alſo be admitted, that the linen trade of Ger-

* The yearly value of linens imported from Germany, the Eaſt Country and Holland, in two years, ending in Chriſtmas, 1702, was only 700935*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.* *h.* and if their foreign linens are eſtimated by the evidence at the bar of the Commons in 1774, thoſe paying duty are upwards of 2,000,000*l.* value yearly, and the contraband imports, in cambricks, damaſk, diaper, dowlas, lawns, &c. &c. at leaſt 500,000*l.* in value more.

many and Ruſſia have ſhared fully as much in their liberality and credits in extending their linen manufactures.

REASON V. *Becauſe returns from foreign markets are very uncertain and generally in produce, on which long credits muſt be given in Ireland, and if that market could even take off the whole at proper prices.*

In ſupport of the fifth reaſon.—*If Ireland was in poſſeſſion of the whole of the export of her linen now ſent from Britain, that market (Ireland) could not conſume the produce that muſt of neceſſity be made her in return, the people being too poor to purchaſe neceſſaries, much leſs luxuries, the conſequence would be an export to other foreign markets of that produce, and the very circuitous remittances ſhe muſt receive in courſe, would ill accord with the linen trade, which only can be ſupported with ready money.*

ANSWER V. The preſent poverty of Ireland is the natural conſequence of a confined trade. Returns in produce from Spain, Portugal, the Weſt Indies, &c. will ſuit the Iriſh merchant equally with ſpecie, as any part that may be ſpared from the conſumption of Ireland, will find a market from thence as well as from England, and ſuch redundant import will aſſiſt in ſupplying outfits and cargoes to the Northern countries, in aid to their proviſion trade, and the profits in all trades are regulated by the credits, riſk, &c. attendant thereon.

REASON VI. *Becauſe the people of Ireland at preſent have it not in their power to ſend out full and well aſſorted cargoes, ſuch as are found neceſſary and ſent from England, viz. India goods, foreign linen, Mancheſter goods, Sheffield goods, Norwich goods, ſtores of all ſorts, &c.*

In ſupport of the ſixth reaſon.—*It is a variety of articles that creates and ſupports a foreign demand, ſuch articles as Ireland has not got; on the contrary, ſhe imports from England for her own conſumption, even woollen and haberdaſhery goods of all ſorts, with many other articles beſides theſe mentioned in the reaſon.*

N. B. If unhappily for Ireland, ſuch an act ſhould paſs, great care ſhould be taken to prevent the running in of linen entered outwards for the bounty, that a fraudulent trader may not have it in his power to circumvent the honeſt merchant, and fruſtrate at leaſt the good intentions of the Iriſh parliament. It's worthy of remark, that when the Iriſh parliament granted a bounty on the exportation of ſail cloth, that the Engliſh parliament laid a duty on it here equal to the bounty paid in Ireland, and though this remark does not directly apply to the preſent caſe, yet it is in ſome reſpect ſimilar, and the like cauſe may produce the ſame effects on the linens, as it had on the article of ſail cloth, which was the loſs of that trade to Ireland.

ANSWER

ANSWER VI. If Ireland is to wait until on a par with England, in ſending out well-aſſorted cargoes of her own produce and manufactures, ſhe may not in a century reap much advantage from a free trade; it is the mutual intereſt of Britain and Ireland, that ſhe immediately poſſeſs herſelf, as far as poſſible, of the advantages of it, and wherever ſhe is deficient in manufactures, ſtores of any ſort, or India goods, &c. to take them from England, and in every reſpect favour the trade of England in preference to all the world, and by induſtry, perſeverance, and cheap living, there is a great probability that ſhe may not only become a better cuſtomer to England for her manufactures, and by her aid become her beſt aſſiſtant in recovering the Levant trade, and in taking the moſt profitable ſhare of the fiſheries, the African and Weſt India trades, from the French, Dutch, and all rival nations.

The liberality of ſentiment and good diſpoſition now ſubſiſting between Great Britain and Ireland towards each other, ought to be fan'd and cheriſhed like a tender plant, and all private intereſts and narrow-principled inſinuations tending to raiſe jealouſies or ſow ſedition between the two countries cruſhed in the bud; let us be unanimous in ſupporting each other, and employ our thoughts and pens for that purpoſe only, by which means, we ſhall moſt aſſuredly ſecure to the Britiſh dominions, proſperity, and the principal trade of the world, and bid defiance to all rivalſhip.

PARTICULAR

APPENDIX. (B).——PARTICULAR ESTIMATE of the *Yorkſhire* WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES, including the Rochdale Bays; 1772.

The Diſtrict bounded on the North by SETTLE, on the South by SUDDLEWORTH, diſtant from each other 40 Miles; bounded on the Eaſt by LEEDS, and on the Weſt by HASLINGDEN in LANCASHIRE, diſtant from each other 35 Miles. The Space of Ground occupied by Manufacturers, equal to a Square of 30 Miles, about One Half of which are Moors and Waſte Grounds.

THE ANNUAL AMOUNT.

		£.	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
	Pieces.						
From Cloathing, or Short Wool	Broad Cloths, mixed and white, 112,370 or 3,232,913¼ Yards, at 5s. per Yard	808,228	6	3			
	Do. — — made or milled in Lancaſhire, preſumed of Value	50,000	—	—			
					858,228	6	3
	Narrow Cloths — — 95,539 Pieces, or 2,377,517½ Yards, at 4s. 3d. per Yard	—	—		505,222	9	4½
	Bays, and other Rochdale Woollens, 124,000 Pieces, at 50s.	310,000	—	—			
	Deduct, and carry to the Manufacture of Combed Wool, for Worſted Yarn, the Warp of Broad Bays	30,000	—	—			
					280,000	—	—
	Kerſeys, 40,000 Pieces, at £2.	80,000	—	—			
	Half Thicks 25,000Ps. at 25s.	31,250	—	—			
					111,250	—	—
	Blankets 20,000 Ps. ſtriped and plain, at £.3 10s.	—	—		70,000	—	—
	Hoſe	20,000	—	—			
	Coln-Serges and Plains, Peniſtone Kerſeys, Hats, Horſe Sheets, and Coverlets	25,000	—	—			
					45,000	—	—
					1,869,700	15	7½
From Combing, or Long Wool	In this Branch are employed — — 3,900 Combers.						
	Whoſe Labour, individually, produces Weekly (allowing for Sickneſs, and other neceſſary Avocations) — 36 lbs. of Wool.						
	140,400						
	Allow two Weeks for Holydays, per Ann. and then multiply by 50						
	7,020,000 lbs. of Wool.						
	The Average Value of 1lb. of Combed Wool manufactured 4 Shillings.						
	28,080,000 Shillings, or —				1,404,000	—	—
	Total Amount				£. 3,273,700	15	7½

N. B. Beſides this, are wrought up Quantities of Iriſh, and other Worſted Yarn made in diſtant Parts of England.

THE EXPORT AND HOME CONSUMPTION.

		Exports.				Home Conſumption.					
		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.		s.	d.
Of Short-Wool Manufactures	Broad Cloth	772,405	9	7½	9/10	85,822	16	7½	858,228	6	3
	Narrow Cloths	101,044	9	10½	1/5	404,177	19	6	505,222	9	4½
	Bays, and other Rochdale Woollens	224,000	—	—	4/5	56,000	—	—	280,000	—	—
	Kerſeys, and Half Thicks	100,125	—	—	9/10	11,125	—	—	111,250	—	—
	Blankets	46,666	13	4	2/3	23,333	6	8	70,000	—	—
	Hoſe, Coln Serges, &c.	4,500	—	—	1/10	40,500	—	—	45,000	—	—
Of Long-Wool Manufacture		1,123,200	—	—	4/5	280,800	—	—	1,404,000	—	—
		2,371,941	12	10		901,759	2	9½	3,273,700	15	7½

THE MATERIALS AND LABOUR.

	Materials.				Labour.					
	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.		s.	d.
In the Short-Wool Manufacture	623,233	11	10½	1/3	1,246,467	3	9	2/3	15	7½
In the Long Wool Manufacture	234,000	—	—	1/6	1,170,000	—	—	5/6	—	—
	857,233	11	10½		2,416,467	3	9		15	7½

SECOND ACCOUNT.

BROAD CLOTHS, ending 25th March, 1784.

No. 138,023 Pieces, containing 4,094,335 Yards, at 5s. per Yard	—	£. 1,023,583	15 —
No. 115,500 Pieces, ——— 3,356,648 Yards, at 4s. 3d. per Yard	—	713,287	14 —

APPENDIX, (C.)

IT is impoſſible to write on any public ſubject without trenching on the private views and ſpeculations of ſome individual. The ſyſtem of expending a great part of the linen fund in a refinery of aſhes in Ireland, and perſevering in that fruitleſs ſcheme, has been reprobated in the 14th letter, and ſince that publication charging that any Iriſh material is more valuable than the aſhes when refined, a number of certificates and affidavits reſpecting the manufacture of aſhes in Ireland, have appeared in the public prints, not one of which has mentioned a word reſpecting the material object of expence, and alſo a ſpeculative ſcheme for ſowing rape in Ireland, and thereby providing rape aſhes to manufacture into pearl aſhes, whereby the public are to ſave 416,000l. yearly, and the refiners and dealers in the aſhes are to be rewarded by the premium of no leſs than 57,600l.

Where buildings are erected on bad principles, they fall to the ground as ſoon as they are touched; juſt ſo this eſtimate of a crop of rape will vaniſh in the hands of the farmers.

Whoever has cultivated rape in Ireland, does not expect 10 barrels, on a medium of years, to the acre, or more than half the quantity, and rape rarely ſells for 20s. per barrel, but much oftner for 14s. or under per barrel; and the hazard in ſowing rape ſeed, owing to the moiſture of the climate, is the true cauſe why rape is not more propagated in Ireland, and not a want of knowledge in the tillage.

In the next place, rape aſhes well burned and ſaved will bring 12s. per hundred in the rough for purging yarn, bleaching or for ſoap-boiler's uſe, inſtead of 6s. that they are here eſtimated at, and to ſuppoſe that farmers would ſend rape aſhes from diſtant counties to Dublin at an expence of 2s. to 5s. per hundred, when they have a better mark and double the price in every cabbin where linen weavers reſide in the country, is what Examinator will not give into.

There are many things practicable that are not profitable, and the refinery of aſhes or kelp in Ireland, muſt be conſidered as coming under this deſcription. If weed or wood aſhes or kelp were of no uſe until they are refined, the ſcheme would be indiſpenſibly neceſſary; but every weaver, bleacher and ſoap-boiler in Ireland, will tell you truly, that the uſe of the rough aſhes or kelp is well known and practiſed by them, and the next queſtion follows, does the refinery add to the quantum or quality of the aſhes? No, ſays every chymiſt, the quantity of alkaline ſalts are greatly diminiſhed by the refinery, and in Ireland the expence

of

of the fuel and an apparatus muſt be equal to the value of the pearl aſhes produced.

The reaſon of foreign aſhes being refined, is evidently to make them more portable and leſſen the freight, and Examinator will appeal to the practice of France, Germany and England, and expreſsly charges as a fact, that they never refine their wood, weed or vine aſhes in any of thoſe countries, when the aſhes are to be uſed on the ſpot or in the neighbourhood; ſuch expenſive abſurdity was only reſerved for the practice of Ireland.

The unneceſſary piles of new building erected at the Linen-Hall, in place of the old buildings that might have been diſpenſed with until the linen trade was reſtored to a ſtate of proſperity, is another grievance complained of that has waſted the fund, and calls for the attention of the truſtees of the Linen Manufacture particularly, to look into the expenditure of the linen-fund during the laſt three or four years, and they will find the object of their truſt has been diverted from the encouragement of their manufacture, to erect unneceſſary buildings, render aſhes and kelp leſs valuable by refinery, or propoſing unneceſſary premiums for flax-ſeed, and expending vaſt ſums in ſuing perjurers and fraudulent claimants in conſequence thereof; whilſt premiums may be ſo diſpoſed as to anſwer every purpoſe without a neceſſity of oaths, and conſequently without incurring the neceſſity of proſecutions or expenditures at law.

FINIS.

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